The Outlook

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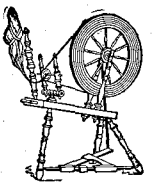

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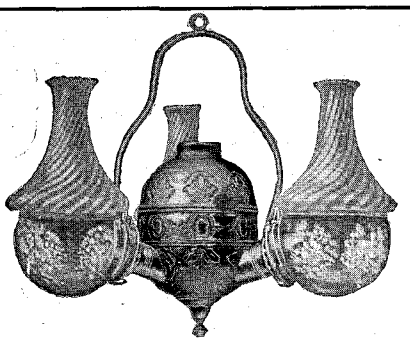

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The Outlook

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 29, 1906

❀

The French Situation

The struggle between the Vatican and the French Government defines itself with increasing distinctness as fundamental. The French Government and the French nation—if the vote in the Assembly last Friday and the results of recent elections are to be taken as expressing the will of the nation—are determined upon the separation of Church and State. The Pope, on the other hand, holds that the separation of Church and State is wholly evil and intolerable. This issue underlies all questions of manner or method, and the Vatican has apparently determined to make the fight on this ground to the bitter end. During the past week there has been very little disorder, although evidences of deep feeling are present in many quarters. No excitement is reported in any of the large cities, and the disorders which have occurred in various localities are negligible. It looks very much as if the nation, as a whole, were looking on without any passionate interest while the fight between the Government and the Vatican progresses. A number of ecclesiastics, including the Archbishop of Paris, have been ejected from their residences. In almost all cases, owing to the attitude of the priests, the ejection has been made under duress, though in no case with violence. In a very few institutions the doors of buildings have been barricaded, and the gendarmes compelled to break in, in order to gain admission. In a considerable number of parishes the law of 1881, requiring that application be made for authorization in the case of all public meetings, has been complied with. The Vatican has sent a formal protest to the Great Powers denouncing the expulsion from France of the acting representative of the Vatican in that country, and characterizing the seizure of correspondence and the discovery of the cipher used in secret communications as in contravention to diplomatic usage and fair play between nations. The modifications of and additions to the law of 1905 proposed by the Government and outlined in The Outlook last week—the abolition of pensions to the clergy, the liquidation of church property, the expulsion of clergy thought dangerous to the public peace, the authorization of the Government to treat recalcitrant clergy as subjects of a foreign power—were debated during a sitting of the Assembly which lasted more than seven hours without intermission on Friday of last week, in the course of which M. Briand, Minister of Public Worship, declared that the separation of Church and State is already accomplished; that the churches are open, there is no religious budget, the priests are no longer functionaries of the State, and the country is calm and is with the Government in its policy. This declaration was supported by a vote of 413 to 266 in favor of the Government bill. The total vote included all but twelve of the entire membership of the Chamber. Readers of The Outlook will be greatly interested in the views of a number of representative American Catholics which appear in another place; they touch the fundamental question of the separation of Church and State without reference to the questions of manner and method.

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James Bryce

The selection of Mr. James Bryce as British Ambassador at Washington will command the hearty approval of Americans, whom Mr. Bryce understands better than any other Englishman except possibly his colleague, Mr. John Morley. The selection of a member of the Cabinet to represent Great Britain in this country

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shows a determination to maintain the fullest, clearest, and most friendly understanding between the two Governments, an understanding already well established, and the continuance of which ought to be a part of the fixed policy of both countries. Mr. Bryce represents diplomacy in its latest and highest development, as the interpretation of the feelings and purposes of nations rather than of dynasties, and as substituting directness, frankness, and full statements in place of conventional indirection, finesse, and, in too many cases, falsehood. Two or three important books which have recently appeared have shown the old diplomacy, which Mr. Hay did much to break up, as a highly developed art of concealment, intrigue, and falsehood. Mr. Bryce will speak frankly for the British people to the American people, and he will use the language of one clearly understanding both peoples. He ranks with de Tocqueville and von Holst among the foremost interpreters of American conditions, American constitutional organization and development, and the growth and spirit of the American people. He will be welcomed as an Ambassador, and still more cordially as a friend of the country.

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The Affair at Brownsville

Controversy over the President's action in dismissing without honor soldiers of the Twenty-fifth Infantry still rages. Those who oppose the dismissal have shifted their ground. At first they declared that the President had exceeded his Constitutional powers; now, practically abandoning this point, they assert that murder was never committed, or, if it was, that it was not committed by soldiers, or at least that if soldiers did commit murder the fact has not been sufficiently established. In his message to Congress, sent in response to a resolution of the Senate, the President restates the facts: "The evidence of many witnesses of all classes was conclusive to the effect that the raiders were negro soldiers," says the President. He explains that the circumstantial evidence regarding the bullets, shells, and chips—which showed that the firearms used were the new service rifles obtainable only from the army—is merely corroborative, as is also the fact that some of the bullet-holes which were found in the houses show that some of the shots must have been fired from the fort, and that no bullet-holes appear in the structure of the fort. General A. B. Nettleton, a Civil War veteran, formerly Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and for twenty years a trustee of Oberlin College, in a letter confirms this evidence. One cottage where a children's party had just been held "was riddled by United States bullets, fired by United States soldiers, from United States Springfield rifles." The chief of the Brownsville police, who was an eye-witness, is wearing an empty sleeve because he was shot by Federal soldiers, and an unoffending citizen lies dead, shot down while attempting to escape. "The effort to confute this testimony so far," comments the President, "has consisted in the assertion or implication that the townspeople shot one another in order to discredit the soldiers—an absurdity too gross to need discussion and unsupported by a shred of evidence." Now, these criminal soldiers, adds the President, were "not school-boys on a frolic. They were full-grown men, in the uniform of the United States Army, armed with deadly weapons, sworn to uphold the laws of the United States." The chatter about "peaching" or "squealing" on "pals" under such circumstances the President treats with deserved contempt. The soldiers who stand by fellows who are criminals are not fit to wear the uniform as protectors of the American people. Senator Foraker, who is an exceedingly able lawyer, argued before the Senate that the evidence was not sufficient to prove the soldiers' guilt before a court of justice. "Congress has always been careful," he noted, "to provide that no man found guilty of an offense should be punished otherwise than as Congress might direct." He said that instead of "scores" of eye-witnesses, of whom the President speaks, there were really but twenty-one mentioned, and only eight who actually saw the shooting. (Incidentally we might ask how many eye-witnesses

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Senator Foraker thinks are necessary to establish a fact.) Their testimony, he announces, is "utterly unsatisfactory"—to him. This exceedingly able lawyer, however, fails to observe that the President's action was not in the nature of a penalty; it was the removal of a public danger. Certain newspapers have likened the incident to the Dreyfus case and the execution of the Salem witches. These parallels do credit to journalistic imagination. We have yet to hear that a single one of the murderers has been incarcerated on a desert island or shamefully executed.

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False Counselors

One of the most unfortunate aspects of the affair has been the general willingness of the negro press and negro organizations to cast the fortunes of the whole race in with these negro criminals and their accessories. A negro magazine in Boston prints a collection of extracts from negro newspapers commenting on the affair. Without exception these papers come to the defense of the soldiers, and some of them bitterly attack the President. The following may be taken as representative of them all:

> The action of President Roosevelt in dismissing in disgrace from the army three companies of the Twenty-fifth Infantry because the men refused to be common tattletales and disclose the identity of some one of their members who had been shooting up the town of Brownsville, Texas, is unprecedented in the history of the army of the United States. It is a matter of history that some member of a battalion did kill a man in Brownsville, and it was the specific duty of the Government to send detectives to Brownsville and to the barracks and have them ferret out the guilty parties. Failing in that, the matter should have been dismissed for lack of evidence.—The Kentucky Standard, Lexington, Kentucky.

One negro paper urges that no "Afro-Americans" enlist to take the places of the discharged soldiers. The accusation has been brought against the negro race that it stands solidly behind every member of the race in any issue that may arise between him and society, whether he is in the right or the wrong. These ill-advised negro counselors, and their less excusable white apologists, are following the very surest method of justifying this charge. As a matter of fact, we believe there are many negroes who are eager to see negro offenders dealt with justly. They could do no greater service to their race than boldly to speak out their minds now.

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"Soldiers of the Common Good"

In contrast to the unwise racial feeling exhibited by these apologists for unworthy negro soldiers, the events following the riots in Atlanta are most encouraging. The grave disturbance which resulted in the killing of innocent, some of them exemplary, negroes, has incited the best people of both races to a movement characterized by justice, mutual forbearance, and mutual service. Dr. Booker Washington two weeks ago told in our columns the story of this movement. With his characteristic spirit he emphasized the part which the people not of his race were taking to promote co-operation between whites and blacks. There is another side to that story; it is the part which the colored people of Atlanta have taken. A committee of ten leading white citizens, appointed at a public meeting, held conferences with leading negro preachers and business men. As a consequence, besides the white organization a negro organization was formed. Before the middle of December this body had nearly two thousand members. A negro committee has been working in co-operation with the white committee to secure justice. This negro committee has not only called to the attention of the white committee cases of alleged injustice to negroes, but it has also reported cases of injustice done by negroes to whites. Until lately, at least, in no single instance has the negro committee reported a case that was even doubtful; and the white committee has, after investigation, indorsed the representation made by the negro committee. In performing this service the committee of negroes has acted quietly, with no bad feeling, with scrupulous impartiality, and on a high plane of intelligence and morals. This is the testimony of one of the leading citizens of Atlanta, conspicuous in the organization among the whites. One instance is worthy

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of special mention. Dr. Washington told the story of a negro named Glenn, who was arrested on the charge of criminal assault. He was identified by the victim, and the committee of whites acted with the view of seeing that he was hanged quickly and quietly. Two members of the committee, however, who were appointed as counsel for the defendant, after sending for two of the negro leaders and after conference with the accused, became satisfied of his innocence, secured the best jury to be had, and argued his case. The jury, after having retired for only a minute, gave their verdict as acquittal. The sequel to this is equally interesting. During the trial another negro by the name of Johnson, to whom some of the evidence pointed as the guilty party, was arrested. The negro committee, after satisfying themselves of Johnson's guilt, asked for an opportunity to show their good will toward the white committee for their services in the Glenn case, and also to show their opposition to negro crime. Their plan was to put negroes on the jury that was to try Johnson, and so give negro jurors an opportunity to convict a negro guilty of the crime which started the riots. Unfortunately, the jury had already been impaneled; but if it had not been too late, the proposal of the negro committee would have been put into effect. These people, black and white, who are thus co-operating have well been called "soldiers of the common good." They are the true "friends of the negro," because they are the enemies of all crime. Long after the hubbub over the Brownsville affair is forgotten the effect of their undertaking will remain.

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Secretary Metcalf's Report on the Japanese in San Francisco

Last week the President submitted the report of Secretary Metcalf on the Japanese situation in San Francisco, with his own recommendations. Mr. Metcalf's report deals with three subjects: the boycott maintained during three weeks in October against Japanese restaurants in San Francisco, assaults on Japanese subjects resident in the city, and the school situation. Most leaders of the labor organizations disclaimed any knowledge of formal action for the boycotting of the restaurants, but admitted a decided sentiment in the unions against them; while no official action was taken, however, members were urged in the unions to avoid patronizing these restaurants, and men employed by one of the unions stood in front of the Japanese restaurants distributing match-boxes with the label, "White men and women, patronize your own race." Patrons of the restaurants were assaulted and windows were broken. The owners eventually raised about $350, part of which was paid to one of the leaders of the boycotters, and the boycott was discontinued. The chief of police declared that every effort would be made by him to protect Japanese restaurants and to arrest violators of the law; and the Secretary satisfied himself that windows were broken and stones thrown by young men and boys and not by the pickets. The report finds that assaults have been made on Japanese subjects, including two professors in the Imperial University of Tokio. These assaults were made subsequent to the earthquake and fire, and were part of the reign of disorder which has continued in San Francisco for several months past. They were made, however, not with a view to robbery, but from a feeling of race hostility. The overwhelming sentiment of the State is for law and order and for the protection of the Japanese in their persons and property, and every assurance was given by officials that such protection would be provided. The Secretary impressed upon the acting Mayor and the chief of police the duty of giving the Japanese the full protection guaranteed them by treaty, and declared that if they were not able to cope with the situation, or were negligent or derelict, "the entire power of the Federal Government within the limits of the Constitution would be used, and used promptly and vigorously, to enforce observance of treaties."

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The School Question

Regarding the school question, Mr. Metcalf reports that for several years the Board of Education of San Francisco has been considering the advisability of establishing

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separate schools for Chinese, Japanese, and Korean children; that by resolution in May, 1895, the Board of Education determined to effect the establishment of separate schools "not only for the purpose of relieving the congestion at present prevailing in our schools, but also for the higher end that our children should not be placed in any position where their youthful impressions may be affected by association with pupils of the Mongolian race;" that in October of the same year all principals of schools were directed to send all Chinese, Japanese, and Korean children to the Oriental Public School on Clay Street; that this action of the Board was largely influenced by the activity of the Japanese and Korean Exclusion League—an organization formed to secure the extension by Congress of the provisions of the existing Chinese Exclusion Act so as to include Japanese and Koreans. Many protests had previously been received by the Board of Education against Japanese being permitted to attend these schools; these protests were directed mainly against letting Japanese boys and men, ranging from sixteen to twenty-four years of age, attend primary grades and sit beside little children of both sexes. When the law went into effect, ninety-three Japanese pupils were attending the public schools of the city, distributed among twenty-three schools of the primary grades. Prior to the earthquake and fire there were seventy-six schools in San Francisco, of which thirty-one were destroyed. Twenty-seven temporary structures have been erected, making the total number at present seventy-two. The Oriental School is in the burnt section, and only one Japanese student is now attending it. The course of instruction is identical with that carried on in other schools, and it compares favorably with the temporary structures, but it is very hard to reach, and almost impossible for children residing in remote sections. The Secretary found the sentiment very strong against the practice of Japanese young men attending the primary grades, and he regards this objection as a reasonable one; it is also one easily met by the school authorities.

Public Feeling

The more conservative newspapers are united in urging that the public schools of California are a State and not a Federal institution; that the State has the power to abolish these schools, and the Federal Government would have no right to lift its voice in protest; that the State may extend the privileges of its schools to aliens under such terms as it elects, and the Federal Government has no right to question its action; that these schools are intended primarily for the education of the citizens; that if it should be held that the discrimination operates in violation of the treaty with Japan, or if a new treaty with Japan which should forbid such discrimination were negotiated, the State would exclude from the use of its public schools all alien children of every nationality, and limit the rights of free education to children of its own citizens. The feeling of the State has been intensified in labor circles by reports from the Hawaiian Islands that white labor has been almost entirely driven from the islands, and that the Japanese are gradually forcing small white traders out of business. Many of the leading educators of the State are strongly opposed to the action of the San Francisco Board of Education. The Japanese are admitted to the University of California and to Leland Stanford University. All the teachers consulted by the Secretary spoke in high terms of the Japanese children, declaring that they were among the very best of their pupils in point of personal cleanliness, good behavior, and studious spirit. The President, in his communication to Congress accompanying this report, calls attention to the small number of Japanese children who attend school and this testimony regarding their cleanliness and good behavior. He declares that the Government has directed that suit be brought to test the constitutionality of the recent action, but that he earnestly hopes that the suit will not be necessary, and that, as a matter of comity, the citizens of San Francisco will not deprive Japanese children of education. In regard to the protection of the persons and property of the Japanese, he reiterates Secretary Metcalf's statement that,

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in case of the State's failure to accomplish these ends, the entire power of the Federal Government, within the limits of the Constitution, will be used promptly and vigorously.

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The President on Panama

President Roosevelt's special message on the Panama Canal was in physical form a novelty in that it contained many reproductions of photographs. These added graphic reality to the animated narrative of his inspection trip, which was in itself a novel form of Presidential activity—and a novelty much to be lauded, because it was inspiring to the Panama workers, informative to the President and thence to the people, and in all ways conducive to a better understanding of the tremendous task the United States is solving at Panama. The substance of the Message amply justifies Mr. Roosevelt's claim that his three days ashore, while "not a sufficient length of time to allow of an exhaustive investigation of the minutiæ of the work of any single department, still less to pass judgment on the engineering problems," was "enough to enable me to get a clear idea of the salient features of the great work and of the progress that has been made as regards the sanitation of the Zone, Colon, and Panama, the caring for and housing of the employees, and the actual digging of the canal." Indeed, the average man will wonder at the number of individual things crowded into those three days by the extraordinary energy and rapidity of the President. Here is his enumeration of part of the things done in part of one day—at the Culebra cut:

> We watched the different steam shovels working; we saw the drilling and blasting; we saw many of the dirt trains (of the two different types used), both carrying the earth away from the steam shovels and depositing it on the dumps—some of the dumps being run out in the jungle merely to get rid of the earth, while in other cases they are being used for double-tracking the railway and in preparing to build the great dams. I visited many of the different villages, inspecting thoroughly many different buildings—the local receiving hospitals, the houses in which the unmarried white workmen live, those in which the unmarried colored workmen live, also the quarters of the white married employees and of the married colored employees, as well as the commissary stores, the bath-houses, the water-closets, the cook sheds for the colored laborers, and the Government canteens, or hotels, at which most of the white employees take their meals. I went through the machine shops. During the day I talked with scores of different men—superintendents and heads of departments, divisions, and bureaus; steam shovel men, machinists, conductors, engineers, clerks, wives of the American employees, health officers, colored laborers, colored attendants, and managers of the commissary stores where food is sold to the colored laborers; wives of the colored employees who are married.

We cannot here summarize the narrative, and we earnestly urge a full reading of it by all who wish to be able to discuss Panama problems intelligently. But we may note a few of the larger conclusions drawn by the President as a result of his observation.

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What the President Found

The President finds that Congress was wise in preferring the Panama route to any other; that the money paid to the French Canal Company for work and betterments was a good investment; that the preliminary work done in sanitation and preparation was absolutely essential, and that now conditions are such that when contracts are let there will be a constantly increasing amount of performance. The results of the sanitation work under Dr. Gorgas are "astounding," and "the conditions as to sickness and death rate compare favorably with reasonably healthy localities in the United States." Indeed, it is hardly possible that the health showing can continue at its present average. The hospitals are as good as those at home, and black men and white men are treated exactly alike. The breeding-places of the dangerous mosquitoes have been largely destroyed; the town of Panama has been paved, and has modern hygienic sewer and water service; the town of Colon offers extremely difficult problems, but much has been done and constant effort and engineering skill are being applied to those problems. An amusing instance of reckless and dishonest criticism was cited in regard to the Colon water reservoir, a photograph of which is printed. The critic in

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question specifically stated that there was no fit water in the vicinity, and that the reservoir would not hold water, anyway. Now it is filled with excellent drinking-water, and, with typical American humor, the engineering corps have christened a large boat used on the reservoir with the name of the critic. Colon's streets are bad, "as bad as Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington before Grant's administration," but they are a hundred per cent. better than a year ago, and progress is rapid. Complaints on this and other topics made to the President were often honest, though sometimes wanton or malicious; but when honest they usually proved due to failure to appreciate the fact that time is necessary in the creation and completion of a titanic work in a tropic wilderness. Throughout the Canal Zone Mr. Roosevelt found a splendid police force, fine schools, excellent provision for the six thousand white and nineteen thousand colored employees on the Isthmus, but too many saloons—a fault to be remedied by a new high-license law. In some cases the quarters did not seem adequate, and there was some complaint that prices of supplies were too high; but no large undertaking can be carried on without individual complaints, and the President, after testing these complaints in various ways, is sure that the laborers, engineers, and officials are well fed, well housed, and well paid. The West Indian negro laborers are fairly, but only fairly, satisfactory; a few hundred Spaniards employed do excellent work; more Spaniards and some Italians are to be sought for; but in the main, for unskilled work, we shall have to rely partly upon negroes of the West Indies and partly upon Chinese labor—"the American workingman in the United States has no concern whatever in the question as to whether the rough work on the Isthmus, which is performed by aliens in any event, is done by aliens from one country with a black skin or by aliens from another country with a yellow skin." The actual work of construction has been pushed in good earnest since the type of canal was decided, and in October the record-breaking amount of three hundred and twenty-five thousand cubic yards was excavated. The work may best be done by general contractors, if fair terms and proper checks upon the work can be agreed upon; the proposals now offered are tentative only. The President believes that a seven-headed commission is a clumsy executive instrument; that we should have but one Commissioner, with such heads of departments and other officers under him as we may find necessary, and that the best men in the country should be employed as consulting engineers. Of the success of this stupendous enterprise, which will redound immeasurably to the credit of America, will benefit all the world, and last for ages to come, the President is fully convinced. He deprecates the pessimism of doubting Thomases, and scores the malicious attacks of sensation-mongers, while he expresses the heartiest contempt and indignation for the outrageous accusations of a few slanderers who have been guilty of gross libel "upon a body of public servants who, for trained intelligence, expert ability, high character, and devotion to duty, have never been excelled anywhere."

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Wages and Living

The Pennsylvania Railroad Company, in assigning the rising cost of living as the reason of its $12,000,000 increase in the yearly wages of its employees, already noted in The Outlook, requires no labored argument to convince the public of the truth and common sense underlying its action. The advancing price of food products and other necessaries of modern life are facts that obtrude themselves unpleasantly in the daily lives of all. Commodity prices in 1906, as recorded by Dun's Index Number, broke the record of twenty years. The investigation of retail prices of food conducted by the United States Bureau of Labor has made it clear that in 1905 the highest point was reached in the sixteen-year period thus far covered by the investigation. The advance in food when each article is given a weight according to its consumption in the family of the workingman was 17.7 per cent. between 1896 and 1905. The average cost of food per family in 1896, the year

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of lowest prices in the period, was $296.76; in 1895 it was $349.27. In most workingmen's homes expenditure for food makes up more than 40 per cent. of the family budget. Probably no other item in the budget, with the possible exception of rent, has increased in the same proportion, but most of the items show an appreciable increase. In certain localities the cost of fuel is greater than it was ten years ago. Almost everywhere rents are higher. On the other hand, more men are employed in productive industries than ever before, the hours of labor are shorter, and the pay larger. Not only is the cash wage for the short-hour week larger than the cash wage formerly received for the long-hour week, but it would appear from the report of the Bureau of Labor that its purchasing power is greater (absolutely), in spite of the higher prices of many commodities. In other words, the rise in wages in the whole country more than offsets the increased cost of living. If this be true as a general statement (and we are aware that it seems to be contradicted by many specific instances), the effect of the recent raising of wages by some of the great corporations will be to give the man who works with his hands a greater share in the products of American industry than has ever before been his. Beginning with the new year, the United States Steel Corporation is to add 10 cents to the day's pay of each of its 68,000 common laborers. The Standard Oil Company is putting into effect an increase of from 5 to 10 per cent. in the wages of about 35,000 men. An advance of 10 per cent. has been granted to 25,000 Fall River cotton-mill operatives. Among railway companies, besides the Pennsylvania, the New York Central, Reading, Alton, St. Paul, Chicago and Northwestern, Union Pacific, Lackawanna, and New Jersey Central have either increased wages or reduced hours. All the great copper mines of the country are paying better wages than ever before. It taxes the memory of the present generation to recall a period of National prosperity in which the incomes of so many thousands of individuals were enhanced so substantially in a single year. But at the same time it remains true that the salaried man, as distinguished from the wage-earner, has gained little or nothing, generally speaking, unless it be greater assurance of employment. The Bureau of Labor has repeatedly called attention to the fact that the tendency in this country is to advance employees on salaries less rapidly than those who are employed by the day or week and whose services are contracted for at frequent intervals. It is this class in the community that has felt more keenly, perhaps, than any other, the increased cost of food. The pay of civil service employees at Washington has remained practically stationary since the Civil War. The Government is now experiencing difficulty in getting properly qualified men to take clerkships at the salaries offered, and a bill has been introduced in Congress increasing all departmental salaries 10 per cent. While a horizontal increase of this kind would serve to perpetuate many of the old inequalities and absurdities for which the Government's salary list is notorious, it is undoubtedly true that large numbers of faithful and efficient employees are receiving relatively less to-day than they received twenty years ago for services at least as valuable as those that they rendered then; and what is true of Government clerks is equally true of the office force of many a firm and corporation.

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New Subways for New York

Plans for the building of new subways in New York are so far completed that the city is about ready to receive bids for their construction and, if deemed advisable, for their operation. The main question at present is, How can the city best insure its own control of these streets underground? When the present subway was planned, there was some doubt in the minds of many apparently well-informed people as to the prospect of financial success. Under the circumstances, therefore, it was necessary for the city to agree that it would permit the company constructing the subway to reap the profits of operating it. The unquestioned financial success of the present subway has made a very great change in

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the situation. After a great deal of effort, the State Rapid Transit Law was amended so as to give the municipal authorities power to make separate contracts for construction and for operation, and even to construct the subway itself and lease it, to contract for the construction of the subway and operate it itself, or to do both. By this means the city is freed from the necessity of being dependent on some one great concern strong enough to undertake the enormous task of building, equipping, and operating a network of subways, and can, if it seems best, invite a number of competitive bids. Aroused by a statement in one of the New York daily papers that the Rapid Transit Commission had announced its intention of ignoring the liberty granted to it by the new law and of putting the construction, equipment, and operation of the new subway into the hands of a single corporation, a labor union, with commendable sensitiveness to the public welfare, last week called a mass-meeting to protest. The speakers at that meeting, with but two exceptions, proceeded on the assumption that this report was correct. If they had taken the pains to inform themselves of the facts, they would have saved, for use on other occasions, a great deal of the oratory which at that meeting they wasted upon a misreport. The fact is that the Rapid Transit Commission suggested that bids be invited not only for the construction, equipment, and maintenance of the lines, but also at the same time bids "for the mere construction of the several sections of these roads." The Board of Estimate and Apportionment, which has co-ordinate power with the Commission in authorizing contracts for rapid transit routes, made in reply to this suggestion the recommendation "that alternate bids be invited, first, for construction alone, and, second, for construction, equipment, and operation" of each of certain routes definitely named. These are the facts, which could have been easily ascertained by any one who wished to take the trouble to inquire of the Rapid Transit Commissioners, but apparently it never occurred to the organizers of this mass-meeting to do this.

The Possibility of Municipal Operation

So far no action has been taken by either the Rapid Transit Commission or the Board of Estimate and Apportionment of New York City which precludes the possibility of the city's deciding to build the subways by contract and then to operate them itself. It is evident that neither of these bodies contemplates making any decision on this subject until the bids have been received and examined. Moreover, the city has still retained its liberty of choice between different methods of constructing the subway. There are two courses open to the city: one, to make a contract with a large contractor for the construction of an entire subway system; the other, to eliminate the large contractor, and to make instead contracts with a number of contractors for the construction of the various sections. When the present subway was built, Mr. John B. McDonald accepted the city's terms and then turned the construction over to a number of sub-contractors. The difference between the amount he received from the city and the amount he paid out to these sub-contractors netted him a handsome profit. It is this profit which the city, by dealing directly with the sub-contractors themselves, might save to itself. There are two objections, however, to this procedure: one is that the city would have the very complicated task of directly supervising fifty or seventy-five different contractors and making them work so as to produce a well-jointed construction; the other is that the city might be able to induce a single large contractor to do the work on his own credit, while it probably would have to advance its own credit to smaller concerns. To the former objection the answer is made that, as a matter of fact, the work of supervision in the building of the present subway was to a very large extent carried on by the city; it was the city's engineers, rather than the engineers employed by the contractor, who directed the work. An answer to the second objection it is more difficult to find. Nevertheless, it is estimated that out of the one hundred and fifty odd millions of dollars which the con-

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struction of the subways would require the city now has available about fifty millions, and larger sums will be available as the wealth of the city increases during the years of construction. It appears, therefore, that the city of New York is not altogether oblivious of its opportunities in securing the control of the new underground streets which it is preparing to build.

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A Car Shortage

During the past few weeks a serious car shortage has existed in the West, and during the past week the Inter-State Commerce Commission has been investigating it. The shortage has particularly affected the transportation of coal to the West and of wheat from the West. From North Dakota especially there have come painful stories of suffering and famine due to the lack of coal and to delay in moving the wheat crop. The railway companies are even charged with slowness in delivering coal as a means of bringing pressure to bear against impending legislation in the Dakotas. We do not believe that the railways have entered upon such a policy of exasperation. A contributory cause may have been that the Dakota coal dealers had neglected to supply themselves, waiting for a reduced rate for carriage, which was shortly to go into effect. A more likely charge is that as to wheat; it is said that the railways have discriminated against independent grain dealers in furnishing cars, sending an insufficient number and of insufficient capacity, while supplying the elevator companies connected with the railways with the largest cars and plenty of them. Thus the farmers have not always been able to get their wheat quickly to the central markets. The railways reply that farmers, in general, have been holding their grain for better prices, and that this has prevented the carriers from distributing the traffic over a longer period, and now concentrates the demand for cars late in the season beyond the railway's capacity for furnishing them. Commissioners Lane and Harlan report little present suffering, and as there are plenty of ore cars now available for carrying coal to all distressed points, the Commissioners think that the danger of suffering from lack of fuel may be said to be past. The railway officials who appeared before them promised to carry coal whenever needed, and it has been despatched, in some cases by trains running on passenger time. Car shortage is not characteristic of the Northwest alone, but of the whole country. During every late autumn we have always suffered from a car shortage. A quarter-century ago, during the autumn, a familiar sign, posted at Louisville, read: "Freight forwarded to Southern points on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays only." While conditions have improved somewhat, the car shortage persists every autumn, to the unsettling of commerce and comfort, despite an increasing general prosperity with which certain transportation facilities have not kept pace. What are the causes of the shortage?

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A Rail Shortage

Undoubtedly some railways may be arbitrary in their disposition of freight cars, preferring their own cars to others. But this is but one of the causes for the shortage. Shippers are to blame as well as carriers. Thousands of cars are unnecessarily delayed in large centers by the failure of receivers promptly to unload them. No matter how many cars the railways run, they will never be sufficient if sidetracked and held for days and weeks at terminal points, sometimes for storage. It is stated that for every day that a car is actually traveling it is held up a week for loading and unloading. At least half of this time is of course pure waste. If the time could be reduced, say by half, it would mean a doubling of the available cars. A third cause lies in the lack of terminal facilities. The other day a shipper ordered two hundred cars of merchandise; he could unload but four at a time at his own terminal. The city of Chicago forms an illustration on a gigantic scale of the hardships which must be suffered in terminal facilities by shippers and carriers alike. Business has far outgrown the facilities, and it is difficult to increase them. Even if there be no question of

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land, there is the question of equipment. As to rails, orders cannot be filled under six months or a year, and the same is true for cars. Yet, despite this, our manufacturers continue to export these products; thus, of rails we sent out over seven million dollars' worth in the ten months ending with October. Our domestic demand must go unfilled so that our manufacturers may keep a hold upon the foreign market. As affording legislative relief, Senator Hansbrough, of North Dakota, is preparing a bill for Congress along these lines:

First—It will authorize the Inter-State Commerce Commission to make investigations relative to the equipment capacity under stress of extraordinary requirements of all inter-State railways, with a view to determining what steps should be taken to require the carrier to supply equipment when needed.

Second—It will authorize the Commission to require shippers holding cars in demurrage to unload and release such cars upon twenty-four hours' notice.

Third—It will make it a misdemeanor for common carriers to compel trainmen to move or attempt to move trains from one point to another containing tonnage in excess of the registered tonnage capacity of engines used on such trains.

Fourth—It will authorize the Inter-State Commerce Commission to require the temporary use of idle equipment of one line to supplement overtaxed equipment of another line, under terms of rental to be agreed upon between the lines interested, and empower the Commission to fix terms in case of disagreement between carriers.

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The Industrial Exhibit in Philadelphia

The second week of December saw in Philadelphia an exhibit which was notable in its crystallization of the efforts being made to improve American industrial conditions along certain lines. Within recent years similar exhibits have been held in London and other European cities to picture in a stirring fashion the most harmful or inhumane conditions surrounding local industries, with corrective legislation as their aim. But it was left for Pennsylvania organizations to lead the way in this country in such a method of awakening and educating local public spirit with regard to such evils as the sweat-shop and child labor. The Philadelphia Consumers' League and the Pennsylvania Child Labor Committee, indorsed and assisted by some forty other societies engaged in civil, social, or industrial betterment, were the sponsors of this significant undertaking. It was the object of the exhibit to reach—and to stir—that great number of people who either do not know or do not care under what conditions their commonest necessities of life are produced; to show in as graphic and accurate a way as possible the very definite dangers to themselves of the "sweated" industries, for instance, and the possible effects of such other industrial evils as child labor on future American citizenship; and, finally, to persuade each individual who came to the exhibit that he had a part to do in bettering the situation. The main halls were filled with booths containing living workers—tailors, box-makers, paper-flower makers—persuaded for the week to leave their slum homes and do their work at the exhibit; and the booths were made, cleverly, to represent the workers' own home rooms or the larger sweat-shops, and placards were posted telling the class of work, hours, and pay. These were supplemented by life-size "representations"—painted scenery and wooden figures—showing the coal-breaker with its boy workers, the glass factory and its boys at night, a city street on Christmas Eve with its diminutive messengers, newsboys, and children delivering bundles from the shops. This last contrasted with the next scene—"Christmas Eve in the Home," the children tucked in bed and their stockings hung up. The Consumers' League had covered several tables with "sweated" clothing, boxes, toys, etc., collected from those districts where home industry, at starvation pay and in unsanitary surroundings, supplies material to Philadelphia's largest shops. In the foyer the "Indorsing Societies" had their exhibits showing how they were coping with the various problems of municipal betterment. The "Household Research" movement was represented; the Children's Aid Society, the Public Baths Association, the Octavia Hill (Housing) Association, the Settlements, the Public School Association, and many others—all graphic displays of charts or actual work that taught people

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what was being done in ways that all good citizens would do well to support.

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Some Special Features

Morning, afternoon, and evening lectures went on throughout the eight days, in two lecture halls. These were given by both Philadelphians and outsiders, on a wide variety of subjects on the immediate issues of the exhibit, as well as on such questions as public school betterment, employees' welfare work, public parks and playgrounds. Many well-known names appeared on the programme—Mrs. Kelley, Mr. John Spargo, Dr. S. M. Lindsay, Commissioner Neill, besides many public-spirited citizens of local note. In the handbook of the exhibit there were published, among other things, a number of authoritative and readable articles on the child labor situation in its various aspects, and on related subjects; a new poem by Richard Watson Gilder, dedicated to the exhibit; dozens of photographs showing actual conditions; full descriptions of the details of the exhibit; and a descriptive directory of all the directing and indorsing societies. That several other cities have applied for the use of the exhibit material for similar exhibits of their own in the course of the winter is evidence that Philadelphia is not alone in believing that this is an effective means of appeal to the public. Its actual result in this instance cannot, of course, be told until Pennsylvania shall have made a step toward the laws she needs to control some of her industrial conditions, or at least better inspection and enforcement of existing laws; and there must also be established a public sentiment which shall demand consistent enforcement of all legislation. But one thing it has done, surely: it has acquainted thousands of people with conditions, directly affecting themselves and their commonwealth, which they had never heard of before; it has accurately and fairly presented some facts which Pennsylvania cannot be proud of, and contrasted creditable statistics from other States where there has been preventive legislation; it has awakened public feeling far and wide over the city; and it has told the people—quite definitely, on placards hung all around the exhibit rooms—just what they can do. Such an exhibit brings before the public—advertises, indeed—as nothing else could do so effectively, the various militant organizations of a big city engaged in all sorts of social betterment work that needs wide and strong support. If it does this only, it justifies itself; but besides this it starts the legislative ball rolling, so to speak, with an intelligent public demand behind to help secure its ends.

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New Year's Eve

Into the merriment of New Year's Eve, as in all hours of surrender to the impulse for pleasure and diversion, there come unbidden those sober second thoughts which wait on the gayest moments and are guests at every festival. There is a natural reluctance to counting up the years when the apex has been reached; a little sadness in the afternoon even when it holds the deepest beauty of day. Time enriches us with one hand and despoils us with the other; brings those choice gifts which gain their value from ripeness and the care of fruitful hours; and takes from us those possessions into which the fullness of our own years has gone. The inward ripening is constantly attended by the outward loss of things dear with sweet association and ancient use. To borrow a figure from classic writing, while the spirit grows in grace and strength, the house in which it is guarded and nourished falls into decay, and sinks slowly and silently into dust.

The fire that smolders on the hearth at midnight when the bells are ringing in the New Year knows many lonely figures, brooding over the ravages time has made in the fair estate of life, and counting all that has vanished as lost. If it were true that time waits anxiously on happiness, and, when it approaches its consummate hour, snatches it away with remorseless hand, men might well feel, as some of their remote ancestors felt, that the gods are jealous of human joy, and that a deep and terrible irony underlies

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life and makes us the sport of the higher powers.

There is but one refuge against the sadness which the years inevitably bring, and that is the deep and abiding consciousness that all life is one, and that in the invisible mansions in which the spirits of men have their home there is greater safety than in the fortresses of stone they have often built to protect their bodies. Those whom we love go from room to room, and we remain before the dying fire and mourn as if they had gone out of the house instead of passing into another of its many chambers. We miss not only dear faces and familiar voices, but places and conditions and things to which we have grown used during happy years, and are burdened with a sense of impoverishment because changes are wrought in our surroundings; and we forget that immortality is in us, not in the things about us, and that when they have served their purpose of sustaining, nourishing, helping us, that which was enduring in them has already become ours beyond the touch of time or change.

There comes a time for us all when we begin to take down the familiar things we have brought about us at the inn where we have tarried, and to give them to those who have made our stay pleasant or profitable; when energy slackens and the passion for expression in some kind of activity gives place to the desire to meditate on what we have done that we may understand it; when, as Emerson says,

> "As the bird trims her to the gale,
> I trim myself to the storm of time,
> I man the rudder, reef the sail,
> Obey the voice at eve obeyed at prime:
> 'Lowly faithful, banish fear,
> Right onward drive unharmed;
> The port, well worth the cruise, is near,
> And every wave is charmed.'"

These partings would be heartbreaking if they were the farewells of those who were never to meet again. But they are charged with no note of tragedy, however sad they are at the moment; they are spoken at the door of the inn, between those who go and those who remain a little longer before they too journey on to the same country. The world is full of the partings of ways that, through vast circuits, converge again; of the separations of those who go by many roads to the same home.

And as the strength fails and the senses lose their keenness and the pathos of physical age touches life with its peculiar sadness, there comes also the great hope of passing, not out of a strong house into a lonely waste, but out of a little room into the freedom of that home the happiness of which "eye hath not seen, nor ear heard;" for as the house of the body decays, the spirit, which has found refuge in it for a brief space on its journey, emerges into the clear light of God's perpetual presence.

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The Japanese Question

We give on another page an abstract of Secretary Metcalf's report on the issue raised in California apropos of the exclusion of the Japanese children from the white schools, and elsewhere a letter from a San Francisco correspondent stating with calmness the case for the exclusionists. In this connection we here restate the principles which we think should, and eventually will, determine the whole question of the treatment of the Oriental races in this country.

I. Under our present system of government the question of education is left wholly with the States. The State may establish a system of public schools or leave all education to be carried on by private enterprise; it may establish education in some branches and not in others; it may maintain co-education of the sexes or separation of the sexes, co-education of the races or separation of the races. Possibly that clause of the Constitution which provides that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to the jurisdiction thereof are citizens of the United States," and that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States," might be construed to forbid excluding any such citizen from the public schools of the State. But, with this possible exception, the whole question of public education is left by our Constitution and by the uniform practice

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of the past wholly under the control of the States. The Federal Government has no jurisdiction over the subject. Nor do we believe that the Federal Government has any right to make a treaty conferring educational rights within the States upon the citizens of a foreign country, for we do not believe that Congress can do indirectly what it has no Constitutional authority to do directly. But this is a question which can ultimately be settled only by the Supreme Court of the United States. As a general principle, it is the undoubted Constitutional right of the people of California to determine what educational facilities they will provide for their people, and whether in their system of education they will put different races in different schools or in the same school.

II. On the other hand, the Federal Government alone has power to determine who may come into the United States, and on what terms and conditions. No State has anything whatever to say on this subject, except through its Senators and Representatives in Congress. The Federal Government may exclude all Japanese and Chinese, or admit all Japanese and Chinese, or exclude some and admit others. If Congress should see fit to say that all Chinese and Japanese may come freely into the United States, such immigrants could land at San Francisco, and neither the municipal nor the State authorities could do anything to prevent it. If they attempted to prevent it, the duty would devolve upon the President of the United States to use all the forces at his command to enforce the law, or the treaty, permitting their immigration, and to protect their persons and property from maltreatment whether by mobs without law or by State or municipal authorities under forms of law.

III. Congress has exclusive authority to make naturalization laws. It may grant or refuse naturalization to the Japanese and the Chinese, or grant it to the one and refuse it to the other. If it grants naturalization to the Japanese, they become citizens, and, being citizens, are entitled to all the privileges and immunities of all other citizens. They may travel freely, buy and sell freely, and enter freely into any employment that is open to other citizens. No State and no municipality could put any restriction on their rights and liberties, except such as it puts on the rights and liberties of other citizens. And as the Constitution expressly provides that "the right of the citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude," if the Federal Government should grant naturalization to the Japanese or the Chinese, such naturalized citizens would have the right to vote at all elections—city, State, and National—on the same terms and conditions as other citizens.

Let us apply these principles to the existing Japanese questions.

It is for the people of the State of California to determine whether the Japanese shall attend the same school as the whites or shall have separate schools. If separate schools are provided, and they are as good as the white schools, no injustice is done. If the separate schools are so situated that the Japanese children, or any considerable number of them, cannot attend, or if schools of inferior grade are provided, injustice is done. But the only remedy for such injustice would be an appeal to the reason and the conscience of the citizens of California. It would not be an injustice which the Federal Government could remedy by either Congressional or Executive action.

On the other hand, if the Californians, or any considerable proportion of them, desire to exclude the Japanese, or certain classes of the Japanese, or to continue the exclusion of the Chinese, they can do so only by convincing their fellow-citizens in other States of the wisdom and justice of the exclusion. On the question whether Orientals shall have free access to the port of San Francisco the citizens of California have nothing more to say than have the citizens of New York; on the question whether Italians and Hungarians and Poles shall have free access to the port of New York, citizens of the State of New York have nothing more to say than have the citizens of California. Whether the exclusion of the Chinese

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shall be extended to the Japanese, whether the freedom now granted to the Japanese shall be extended to the Chinese, are questions to be determined at Washington, not at Sacramento. In determining them California has no more political influence per capita than Pennsylvania or New York.

It is well that those people on the Pacific slope—whether a majority or a minority we are by no means sure—who are beginning an agitation for the exclusion of the Japanese should understand that they cannot exclude the Japanese unless they can persuade the people of other sections that it is just and wise so to do. They will find this a difficult task. In the Atlantic States there is, on the contrary, a growing inclination to modify the present exclusion law in favor of a more generous treatment of the Chinese. There is a growing belief that our treatment of the Chinese has been insulting, abusive, unjust; there is a growing opinion that it has been economically impolitic, that it is very desirable to admit with measurable freedom all members of the upper classes of Chinese, and under proper limitations a certain proportion of Chinese laborers—that the country is suffering from a dearth, not from an excess, of laborers; and there is a rapidly growing conviction that it is commercially important to promote friendly relations with both China and Japan, and that this cannot be done by continuing our past methods of exclusion, still less by extending them to a high-spirited people like the Japanese. There are several reasons for excluding Oriental laborers coming in large companies to our shores which do not apply to laborers coming singly or in small groups from European nationalities. But such exclusion should be managed with the greatest tact. It ought, if possible, to be arranged by treaty with the excluded nation, and enforced in the ports of departure abroad, not in the ports of entrance in America.

Ever since the caravans from the East made Tyre and Sidon the chief commercial cities of the Mediterranean, commerce with the East has made rich every community which has engaged in it. Our geographical position gives us great advantage over Europe in cultivating this commerce. Its development should make San Francisco, Seattle, and Portland cities of the first magnitude. The Nation will not allow and ought not to allow a small minority of short-sighted labor leaders, playing on the prejudices of a relatively small section, to deny the American Nation this advantage. We are glad that there are men on the Pacific slope who have initiated this agitation. For the effect of the agitation will be to convert throughout the Nation what has been a vague feeling into a positive and strong conviction. It will be far more likely to lead the Nation to resolve upon a modified admission of the Chinese than upon the wholesale exclusion of the Japanese.

As to the naturalization of the Japanese—that is another matter. More than one-third of the entire population of the Hawaiian islands in 1900 were Japanese—61,000 out of 154,000. Naturalization would give the Japanese political control of these islands. It would possibly give them the balance of power in some other communities. Our National well-being lies rather in a restriction than an extension of the suffrage. We may well be willing to admit to a share in our National industries many men whom we are not yet prepared to invite to participate in the political control of the Nation.

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Land Monopolies and Frauds

The public mind in England and America is increasingly occupied by the problems of land monopolies and land frauds.

While nearly half of England is under crops and grass, a disproportionate amount is used by great proprietors for their splendid parks and game preserves. Of the land allowed to be cultivated, the landlords enjoy disproportionate advantages over their tenants. That the number of tenants is large may be seen by the fact that of the five hundred

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and twenty thousand holdings over an acre in size, about four hundred and forty thousand are rented by their occupiers. The Liberal Government is pushing forward a measure in Parliament to limit the landlord's power, and consequently to increase the tenant's. Incidentally, the measure, if enacted into law, would help agriculture. More specifically, the bill defines and limits the landlord's right to hunt over his tenant's land; grants to the tenant the right to cultivate his holding as he sees fit, provided provisio . is made against deterioriation; mal :s the landlord's consent unnecessary to certain building repairs and other improvements; names the conditions under which the tenant may quit his holding, and, above all, gives compensation for capricious eviction or for loss in connection with the sale or removal of the tenant's stock, or, indeed, for any unreasonable disturbance. To those familiar with the agricultural system which has too long ruled in England it will be evident that the Government thus proposes to make drastic but amply justified alteration.

Though the American public has not suffered from land monopoly and injustice in precisely the same way as has the English public, the principle has been the same—tyranny on the part of certain corporation landlords. This has been evident, not in the inhabited and cultivated part of our country, but in the public lands. Titles to these lands may be acquired by location under the Homestead Law, which gives the right to a hundred and sixty acres of land to any citizen who will actually settle upon and cultivate it. While the Homestead Law has worked fairly well for purely agricultural holdings, its provision of a hundred and sixty acres is too small to be of practical utility for modern grazing or for mining. Those occupations are, of course, best carried on by corporations and not by individuals. The corporation obtains possession of public land, peculiarly desirable either for grazing or for mining, by hiring a number of individuals to file fraudulent claims to contiguous homestead plots. It then purchases an assignment of these claims, and unites them into a tract large enough for profitable occupation. Often in league with railways, it then misuses great natural resources on the public domain; having monopolized the good lands, it forces the prices of fuel up to an unreasonably high point. And yet much may be said for the corporations. As the individual entry is limited to a hundred and sixty acres, a premium is put on fraud by making it impossible to develop certain types of coal fields and yet comply with the law. In a special message sent last week to Congress by President Roosevelt urging reform in the public land laws, attention is directed to this particular fact, and the President well adds: "It is a scandal to maintain laws which sound well but which make fraud the key without which great natural resources must remain closed. The law should give individuals and corporations, *under proper Government regulation and control* [the italics are our own], the right to work bodies of coal land large enough for profitable development."

The annual report of the Department of the Interior shows that last year there were nearly five hundred indictments for land frauds. These were, of course, for frauds clearly indictable. But there are many more cases secure from prosecution under the statutes. The President recommends that the law should be changed so that there should be provision for leasing not only coal but also oil and gas rights, under proper restrictions, to mining and oil companies. The same system of leasing might be applied to grazing on the public domain. The point to be emphasized, however, is that this leasing should be under proper governmental regulation and control. It is well to re-enact in one comprehensive measure the Homestead, the Timber and Stone, the Desert, and other land laws, all of which have assisted corporations and speculators rather than homemakers. Monopolistic control of great natural resources on our public lands, with a consequent tyranny of price, will not occur if the corporations are allowed to do a legitimate business under governmental control.

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The Spectator

From a village far up the hills along the Mohawk Valley, remote from railway and away from the world's activities, to another village of similar size but out on the prairies at the meeting of plain and Rocky Mountain foothills, is a far journey. The Spectator made it during the summer, however, and was interested in the comparisons offered between East and West under corresponding conditions. Both communities are isolated, both have remained quiescent in growth for many years, though of course the Eastern hamlet is much the older.

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This time an automobile took us from the railway station. We were within twenty miles of the Colorado-Kansas line, but six touring-cars were noticed that morning in front of our typically country hotel. "They all belong to one firm of land agents," explained our driver. "Teams were not fast enough for them, so they got cars. Distances are so great and the land-seekers so many that they just had to have them. There are others here, too," as if he did not wish us to suspect that this business was the only pursuit of his town. We were whirled up the valley and over the low bluffs as if on a boulevard, so smooth and easy were the prairie roads. On either side were alfalfa fields, wheat fields, fenced pastures, and open grazing ground. Some of the land was irrigated, more of it was high plain, which can be conquered only by "dry farming," if at all.

"Everybody's getting rich on land," remarked our driver. "The land is going up every day—all you got to do is to buy, and it will make you money." He used passable English, this one-time homesteader.

"How long have you been here?"

"Twenty-three years."

"Have you made money out of land?"

"Well, I'll tell you," with a laugh. "I could have bought all this bottom for five dollars an acre a few years ago—now it's worth thirty, but I have only my claim and my house in town. I have been afraid. When we settled here, things looked good; then came the dry years, and the neighbors all left; crops wouldn't grow, and it was pretty tough. I hardly know how we pulled through, but we did. For three years I didn't have a new suit, nor my wife a new dress. Sorghum and bread was our regular fare. We had nowhere else to go, so we stayed and fought it out. I could be rich if I had taken the lands people—Eastern mortgage-owners mostly—wanted to give me. When things improved, it was hard to understand that the increase would be so great, and I let it all go by. The new settlers have made the money."

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Even if the owners had made money, the houses we passed did not show the improvement it should bring. Most of them were small and severely plain in their surroundings. Wide porches that would be a relief from the long summer heat were lacking; trees, save in the irrigated valley, were few. Here and there a ragged tree-claim grove withstood wind and prairie fire, and made an uneven shelter for a farm-house. But the landscape as a whole was inspiring with its far reaches of green and brown, its buffalo-grass sod, and its tilled fields. Little wonder that buyers from Illinois and Iowa thought it worth as much as that they had sold back East. Indeed, in the good seasons it would produce practically as much. The dry seasons to which our driver referred make the difference. But nobody wanted to talk about a possibility of a recurrence of drought. A changing climate, better understanding of conditions, new kinds of grain and forage—these and other things were presented to show that never again can come to the plains a financial reverse. It is to be hoped that the argument is sound—for crop failure means much to the dweller on a prairie claim. It is no slight test to put all one's scant belongings into a canvas-covered wagon and set out to find a new abiding-place for self and family.

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The town looked straggling and unformed. The little crowd around the general merchandise store and post-office was marked by tanned faces. The men were talking of the possibility of Govern-

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ment aid for irrigation in that section, of the price of land (that topic never rests) and of the need of rain. "No, the town don't grow much," said one in reply to a question. "Nothin' to make it grow. The farmers take their grain to the county seat and buy their things there, or order 'em from a mail-order house," with a smile that was reflected on the faces of the others.

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There was a hotel, a two-story frame structure with every appearance of decrepitude. The liveryman who was to drive us across the prairie to catch a train had pity. "I guess I'll take you to my house," said he, "for the hotel is pretty bad." So we sat at table with the family, which included a section-hand boarder and the school-teacher of the district. The cloth was snowy, the fare ample. In the furnishings of the little home were taste and appreciation of colors. On the stand in the sitting-room were two new magazines—but these may have belonged to the teacher. The youngest daughter of the household was practicing on an organ that had arrived that week. Some of the belongings bore stamp of the mail-order house—as unmistakably as did those down East.

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But this impressed the Spectator. Nothing in the house bore mark of age. The family might have come into being yesterday for anything its possessions indicated. If it had any heirlooms, they had been ruthlessly destroyed when the migration to the West took place. Perhaps hidden away in bureau drawers were trinkets and mementoes tying present to past, but none of these was visible. The furniture was flimsy. The house had no porch; not a tree was within a mile. How can a family grow up with real home love under these conditions? How can it fail to be moved easily into roaming, seeking for some better location? In all that a visitor could see of this typical prairie dwelling, not a condition was present, beyond the daily financial record, to make the home a family abiding-place in the sense that homesteads of the older States are beloved. Nor was there a start toward it as yet, though the family had lived here eight years.

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"Where do the young folks go when they grow up?" was asked.

"All sorts of places. One of our boys is in Denver, another took a claim in Oklahoma; our girl is a clerk in the county seat. Some of the boys get land of their own around here, but most of them go farther from the railroad, where land is cheaper. No, not many go East. I don't know but one from this section who did that—he's in a bank in Kansas City. I've never been east of Illinois, where we lived before we came here. Next year I am going to Denver and see the mountains—they say it's great. I don't blame the young folks for getting to town; it's dull here for them sometimes."

But the school-teacher did not think so—she found it interesting always. She said the children were the brightest company she ever handled; some of them rode six miles to school.

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Through it all ran an up-to-dateness, if it may be so expressed. The sentiment was businesslike rather than emotional, but it was healthy and cheery. The Spectator felt that these people would do things as well as any one could do them if they had the resources. They lacked not in willingness nor in appreciation of what the world is doing. They had not time to establish hearthstones nor to give much attention to genealogy; they were too busy with the financial problem. In after years, as these things press less and other things assume their right relation in the scheme of life, the prairie dwellers will be as well fitted as any to meet the conditions.

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More stretches of the short-grass country, more level leagues of land reaching away to the haze of the horizon—all beautiful in its cleanliness, its freshness from nature's workshop, its promise. The homes that widely dot its expanse shelter noble men and worthy women; all in all, there is about them an element of progressiveness that those of the down-East hill country may well imitate.

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THE FRENCH CRISIS: VIEWS OF SOME AMERICAN CATHOLICS

While representatives and defenders in the United States of the Papal policy have freely spoken with reference to the religious situation in France, the more progressive Roman Catholics have, from motives of loyalty and obedience to the Pope, remained silent. A correspondent of The Outlook has, however, interviewed a number of Catholics, and among them one of the most distinguished representatives of that body in this country. It is evident that some of them are in cordial sympathy with the Catholics in France who, if not prohibited by the Pope, would have accepted the separation law without opposition.—THE EDITORS.

ON one subject all American Roman Catholics are practically agreed: they believe in separation of State and Church in the United States. The Roman Catholic Church has prospered in this country under that system. Its faithful adherents have given freely of their money to support Catholic worship and the numerous and beneficent charities of the Roman Catholic Church. As the Protestants point with pride to Roger Williams and the establishment of religious liberty in Rhode Island, so the Catholics point to Maryland and Lord Baltimore and the establishment of toleration in that State. While progressive Catholics favor separation of Church and State as a general principle, Catholics of all schools and tendencies speak with the greatest freedom and satisfaction as to the separation of Church and State in this country. It is not merely that Catholics know that it would be impossible to have anything else; they do not want anything else in the United States.

Nothing could be more natural, therefore, than that many Catholics in this country should conclude that a principle and practice which work well here could work well in the Republic of France.

In this series of interviews it was significant and interesting, from the standpoint of American constitutional government, to find nearly every speaker anxious to make clear at the outset that he accepted this principle.

"We do not want any union of Church and State in this country," said an Irish Catholic. "We have got by that and shall never return to it. It is better for the Church as well as the State."

A convert from Protestantism of the Paulist Fathers order expressed the same idea with equal positiveness. "The Church should have perfect liberty," he said, "to choose and institute its own bishops. Why should the State interfere or have any voice in this matter? For this reason I think the Church in France will be a gainer by the abolition of the Concordat. I do not pretend, however," he added, "to understand all the details of the situation in France. I think the trouble has been not so much in the provisions of the law as in the spirit in which it has been carried out."

A French Catholic gentleman said with a laugh, "I know my countrymen, the French people, and their capacity for excitement. We shall have to wait a little while for things to cool down. When this happens, I have no doubt that some way of adjustment will be found. I accept fully the American principle of separation of Church and State. But in this country we had the advantage of starting right from the beginning, and the question of the distribution of property and the annulment of privileges has not come up. Well," he said, with his complacent smile, "I think it will come out all right in the end."

"It is a little curious," said the Irish Catholic already quoted, "that all this stir should have occurred in a country where the Catholics are overwhelmingly predominant. Why, there is only a handful of Freemasons, after all, in France, and there are less than a million Protestants against thirty-five million Catholics. We cannot charge the Protestants with this disturbance." He added with philosophic assurance, "The

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old Church has stood through these centuries and is going to continue, and a few years from now will be stronger than ever."

The persons whom I have just quoted are not in public life. Their names, if printed, would not be widely known. They were all laymen and representative of the general spirit of many Catholic laymen. They consider that the present is a Catholic contest in a Catholic country. They are not disposed to take sides; they discussed the subject with calmness, though not with indifference.

I suspect that most of these Catholic laymen did not even know that they were flatly contradicting the position of the head of the Church and were in a state of unconscious disobedience. Liberal Catholics in this country are in a peculiar position. The Pope, in his encyclical of February last, said: "That the State must be separated from the Church is a thesis absolutely false, a most pernicious error." He even described it as "a great injustice to God."

American Catholics, on the contrary, have, as is stated above, accepted the principle of the separation of Church and State in this country. To a Protestant, therefore, they seem to stand in flat opposition to the Papal doctrine. To get some light on this question the writer went to one of the most prominent leaders in the United States, distinguished alike for his learning, his courtesy, his religious spirit, and his progressive ideals. Without directly answering my question, he said:

"I look at this question from a historic point of view. There was a time when nearly all religions were united to the State. It was the common view, I may say it was the human view, of the relation. Christianity itself became united to the civil power. It went into the life of the barbarians; it made their laws; it molded their institutions; it governed them. The principle of the union of State and Church was a Protestant as well as a Catholic thesis. It is set forth in the declaration of the faith of Calvin, as well as in the doctrines of the Catholic Church.

"There was an established Church in New England as well as in Geneva, but by and by the principle of differentiation began to work. The civil power gradually began to assume distinct functions of government. It began to punish theft, murder, and all offenses against society. Gradually, by a process of historic evolution, the functions of Church and State have become distinct. Of course there still exists a natural relation between them. The State stands for moral and ethical development, for education; it preserves order and property. This natural and moral relation will exist, but there need not be any legal union.

"Official authority has from time to time opposed certain ideas, but we have always gained more than we have lost by their prevalence. Take Galileo. He was opposed and condemned by official authority when he presented the Copernican theory; but think what we gained by accepting his ideas—a new conception of the world! Take the doctrine of evolution. It was attacked everywhere by Protestants and Catholics alike at first, but it has gradually become widely accepted, and we gain more than we lose by it."

When asked why the Pope did not accept the views of the French bishops who, supported by a large number of distinguished laymen, had reported in favor of accepting the French law, he replied:

"There is a saying in Rome that each Pope is the antithesis of the other. This has been frequently illustrated. The present Pope is a religious man, but he is provincial. He knows nothing of foreign languages or of international life. He is surrounded by a small body of advisers in Rome. Pius IX. condemned the errors of his age, among them republican government. Leo X. accepted the idea of national unity, and made special reservations in regard to the United States. Pius X. has gone back to the position of Pius IX. in condemning the separation of State and Church."

"How do you deal," I said, "with such a doctrine as that of Pius IX.?"

"Oh," he said, "we go round the hill when we get to it. A man born in a foreign country," he added, "cannot completely understand the spirit of our

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institutions in the United States. Religion in this country has been stronger and better for this differentiation. We have not yet embodied, absolutely, the idea of separation of Church and State, for we still have chaplains in Congress and in the army and navy; but it is not best to try to be absolutely logical. The best we can do is take an ideal and try as far as possible to live up to it."

While this controversy was brewing, and when the relations between Rome and France were becoming more and more strained, the writer of this article had, at Rome, an interview, two hours in length, with a distinguished Catholic prelate. Of American birth and a firm believer in American institutions, no one is more thoroughly acquainted with all the tendencies presented in the Roman Catholic Church. Himself a thorough republican and a distinguished representative of Catholic education, it was interesting to observe the great equanimity and confidence with which he regarded the gradual victory of republican principles in Europe as well as in America. His views throw light upon the present controversy.

"We cannot expect," he said, "Italian Catholic priests to look at this question as do American Catholics who have been trained under American ideas of freedom and civil government. It has been shown in the United States that the Church has great power and prosperity when separated from political domination. The Church has shown that it can adapt itself as well to a republican as to a monarchical system. The Pope is recognized as the spiritual head of the Church and not as a political potentate. There are many Catholics who do not consider the question of the temporal authority of the Pope as the leading issue in this struggle. It is necessary, in order that the Pope may have perfect independence, that he should not acknowledge allegiance to any foreign power. At present, in the Vatican, he is isolated in a small territory over which he has absolute authority. This small piece of land over which he is sovereign assures the independence of the Pope. For the purpose of establishing the principle, a mile square of territory is as good as a thousand miles."

In the view of this eminent Catholic the political policies of different governments were different affairs. They were not matters for the Papal intervention, nor did he insist on the necessity of having ambassadors at the Papal court. All that was necessary from the standpoint of an American Catholic was that the Pope should have a little piece of territory in which he could preserve his spiritual independence, free from political interference.

Beyond this the only way the Pope could acquire any more political authority in Italy would be through the acceptance in Italy of a republican form of government and the election by popular suffrage of the Pope to this office. One practical difficulty, however, supposing the country ready for republican government, would be, as viewed by many Catholics, that the Pope would have to recognize and submit himself to the provisions of the political constitution, which course would be in conflict with the Catholic tradition that the Pope must be absolutely free.

This eminent Catholic has not expressed himself publicly in the United States in regard to the situation in France. He has wished to keep wholly out of the field of controversy; but the writer of this article feels confident that he may describe his position as in essential agreement with that of the Bishop of Rouen, and of nearly two-thirds of the French bishops, whom the Pope has refused to allow to form religious societies on the model proposed by the Archbishop of Bésançon. While the clerical party in the United States have taken pains to create public sentiment in favor of the position of the Pope, and to send messages from Catholic clubs, it is equally clear that an intelligent and progressive body of Catholics in the United States sympathize with the republican bishops of France more than with the political counselors of the Pope.

The English liberal Catholics have not been backward, however, in expressing their sentiments in this controversy. Robert Dell, in the Fortnightly Review, has just written on "The Papal Aggres-

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sion in France and its Significance for Other Nations." Mr. Dell is a Catholic, not by inheritance or early training, but by deliberate choice. He became a Catholic for purely religious reasons. "We accepted the Papacy," he says, "as a spiritual and moral, but in no sense as a political, authority; we made no profession of undivided allegiance to the Pope; we gave no pledge to renounce our allegiance to the civil government and the laws of our country at the will and pleasure of any ecclesiastical authority; no such profession and no such pledge were demanded of us. We now find ourselves face to face with the claim of the Pope that his authority is absolute and unlimited; that he can at will annul and set aside laws regularly made by the constituted lawmaking authority; and that if he annuls them or sets them aside we are bound to disobey them."

Mr. Dell declares that the English Catholics "cannot honestly defend the Papal policy in France, or support the French Ultramontanes in the present circumstances."

In the case of English Catholics a point of honor is involved in this matter. In 1826 the Catholic bishops in Great Britain, in a collective declaration, denied that the Pope has "any right, directly or indirectly, to any civil or temporal jurisdiction, power, superiority, pre-eminence, or authority, within this realm;" declared that the allegiance of Catholics to the civil power is "entire and undivided;" and affirmed that they held themselves "bound in conscience to obey the civil government of this realm in all things of a temporal and civil nature, notwithstanding any dispensation or order to the contrary had, or to be had, from the Pope or any authority of the Church of Rome"—the "civil power of the State and the spiritual authority of the Catholic Church being absolutely distinct and being never intended by their Divine Author to interfere or clash with each other."

One of the most significant and important expressions of French Catholic opinion was the "appeal of a group of French Catholics to Pope Pius X." It was published in Le Temps of September 2, and attracted much attention in France. M. Paul Sabatier, the author of "The Life of St. Francis of Assisi," speaks of its literary beauty, the loftiness of its inspiration, its restrained emotion, its overflowing affection, its high French spirit." This is the text of the appeal:

In lifting our voice towards your Apostolic throne, Holy Father, we, who respect even divisions which we deplore, would separate ourselves from those mischief-making Catholics whose blindness has brought us into an abyss. History, which will judge between us and them, will condemn their lack of Christianity as much as their lack of judgment. At the same time we are resolved not to be confounded with those accommodating Catholics whose complaisant language or equivocal silence is not what should be expected from their sense of religion or from a clear-sighted patriotism. We are moved by our love of the Church, of which, after all, there is no more reason to despair in our country than elsewhere. We are equally moved by the sacred interests of France, as noble a country to-day as she has been in the past. And if it be true that the vote of the bishops under the Concordat, when they found themselves confronted by a law of their own country, has drawn from you the cry (intended as a reproach, but which will remain their finest eulogy), "They have acted like Frenchmen!"—know, Holy Father, that the real France, which does not join leagues, or agitate, or intrigue, which thinks and works, was on that occasion absolutely in accord with her bishops.

The most wonderful of all the daughters of olden France, whom our little children invoke on their knees, and whom you will shortly elevate into a saint to be prayed to in the churches—Joan of Arc—was moved to tears when she heard the archangels descended from heaven to tell her of "the great pity that there was for the kingdom of France." Forgive us, Father of all Christians, if we have dared to speak to you, while there is yet time, of the great pity which is at this moment in the souls of the chiefs of our dioceses and the best of the faithful, in the souls of our wives, our daughters, and our mothers, in the souls of all who understand that the concerns of Catholicism are with us bound up with the destinies of our great country, and of a civilization which will never deny the principles of the French Revolution, but which derives its origin from a more distant and a loftier source—from the Gospel and from the very heart of Christ.

Of this noble appeal Mr. Sabatier says: "This appeal will take its place in history, and our descendants will read and re-read it when they want to understand what, at the commencement of the twentieth century, were the aspirations of the younger clergy of France."

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MORMONISM

I.—SOME OF ITS REALITIES

BY McLAIN W. DAVIS

LAST summer, on a certain day, a group of tourists who had just been shown about the Temple grounds of the Mormon Church in Salt Lake City, Utah, stood on the east steps of the Tabernacle Building, where so many thousands of tourists stand every year to hear the final words of their Mormon guides. As is the invariable custom, these tourists had been treated with courtesy; they had seen well-kept grounds, a fine organ, the interior of two buildings, and the peculiar exterior of the Temple building proper; they had listened to a very pleasing and plausible presentation of what purported to be the tenets of Mormonism. Like multitudes of others, these tourists were favorably impressed, and one of them addressed the guide with these words, "Why don't they let you alone? I can't see but that you have a right to worship in your own way." Let us answer this query by stating some realities of Mormonism, for the visitor who asked the question had not seen even the outside of Mormonism, much less the inner reality. As tourists do not see the inside of the Temple, so they do not see the inside of Mormonism.

There is conflict in Utah to-day, as there has always been conflict wherever Mormonism has been planted from its inception down to the present time. This conflict is irrepressible and inevitable. No State can exist in peace half Mormon and half American. The reason for this is not far to seek. It lies in the arrogant claims of Mormonism. The Mormon Church claims absolutely to be the Kingdom of God set up on earth, and that all governments except its own are illegal and spurious. The Mormon problem is not a religious but a civil question, dealing with an oath-bound, despotic organization which gives forth the following dictums as law: "The priesthood holds the right to give laws and commands to individuals, rulers, and nations of the world; to appoint, ordain, and establish constitutions and kingdoms; to appoint kings, presidents, governors, and judges."[1] "The Kingdom of God is an order of government established by divine authority. It is the only legal government that can exist in any part of the universe. All other governments are illegal and unauthorized. . . . Any people attempting to govern themselves, and by laws of their own making and by officers of their own appointment, are in direct rebellion against the Kingdom of God."[2]

In November, 1889, several members of the Mormon Church applied in the District Court for the Third Judicial District of the Territory of Utah for naturalization as citizens of the United States. Andrew Cahoon, for eighteen years a bishop of the Mormon Church, testified in the proceedings before the court. Being asked by counsel if anything had ever been said about the establishment of the Kingdom of God, Mr. Cahoon answered: "Establishment of the Kingdom; why, that is understood, that it is established by the establishment of the Mormon Church, and that was the Kingdom of God, and all other kingdoms would be overthrown, and this Kingdom would be established on their ruins; the first one to suffer would be the Government of the United States."[3] Judge Thomas J. Anderson, in writing his opinion wherein he denied naturalization to nine members of the Mormon Church, based his decision on six conclusions drawn from the evidence submitted, of which the following are pertinent.

The Mormon Church teaches:

First—That it is the actual and veritable Kingdom of God on earth. . . .

[1] Pratt's "Key to Theology," p. 70.
[2] "Doctrines of the Gospel," by Apostle Orson Pratt, p. 41.
[3] Records of District Court for Third Judicial District, Territory of Utah.

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Second—That this Kingdom is both a temporal and a spiritual kingdom, and should rightfully control, and is entitled to the highest allegiance of, men in all their affairs.

Third—That this Kingdom will overthrow the United States and all other governments, after which Christ will reign in person.

The evidence in this case establishes unquestionably that the teachings, practices, and aims of the Mormon Church are antagonistic to the Government of the United States, utterly subversive of good morals and the well-being of society, and that its members are animated by a feeling of hostility towards the Government and its laws, and therefore an alien who is a member of said Church is not a fit person to be a citizen of the United States.

If men have been denied the privilege of citizenship on such a showing, when they were merely members of the organization, what possible right has an apostle of this alien and hostile organization to sit in the Senate of the United States? He is not there as an American, but as the representative of a foreign government.

Mormonism claims to be the true and only Church in the whole earth. All Christian churches are false and their ministers are knaves and hypocrites, without right or authority to preach or teach. To quote from a Mormon work believed by Mormons to be inspired as fully as the Bible: "And also to whom these commandments were given might have power to lay the foundation of this Church and to bring it forth out of obscurity and out of darkness, the only true and living Church upon the face of the whole earth." President Joseph F. Smith paid his respects to the Christian ministers of Salt Lake City, representatives of eight great leading denominations, in a recent number of Out West, in the following language: "The members of the Protestant Ministerial Association of Salt Lake City, a little clique of un-Christian ministers, who spend one day in seven preaching the Ten Commandments and the Golden Rule, and the remaining six in bearing false witness against their neighbors and stirring up strife and hatred against them." The Protestant ministers of Salt Lake City have incurred the wrath of President Joseph F. Smith because they, with other citizens of Utah, have protested against the lawbreaking of Joseph F. Smith and other "prophets, seers, and revelators" of the Mormon Church. Were some Protestant minister to live with five women, as does President Joseph F. Smith, then what storms of indignation and vials of wrath would be poured forth by the Mormon apologists!

With these claims and assertions of the Mormon organization unmodified and prominently proclaimed to-day, it is certain that conflict between Mormonism and the enlightened sentiment of the whole world is inevitable.

THE MATERIAL SIDE OF MORMONISM

The Mormon Kingdom of God, unlike the kingdom of the meek and lowly Jesus, is essentially of this world. The foundation of the Mormon organization is mammon. The head of the Church, President Joseph F. Smith, would naturally be supposed to devote most of his time to the religious interests of the Church. It is to be wondered whether he can find much time for spiritual things when he fills the following offices in Church business enterprises:

President Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution.
President State Bank of Utah.
President Zion's Savings Bank and Trust Company.
President Utah Sugar Company.
President Idaho Sugar Company.
President Western Idaho Sugar Company.
President Consolidated Wagon and Machine Company.
President Inland Crystal Salt Company.
President Salt Lake Dramatic Association.
Vice-President Bullion, Beck, and Champion Mining Company.
Director Union Pacific Railway Company.

Very recently the Church has disposed of the Utah Light and Power Company, the corporation which operated the street railways of Salt Lake City and the Salt Air Beach, the great pleasure resort on the Great Salt Lake. Of both companies the head of the Mormon Church had acted as President. These multiplied corporations show to some extent the commercial and material interests of the Mormon Church, though all its interests have not been mentioned. It owns, besides the above, the Deseret News, a large daily paper, the official organ of the Church, and other property interests.

These vast material enterprises in

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which the Mormon Church is so largely interested necessarily require much time and effort for their direction. In the very nature of things it would seem to demand the greater part of the strength and ability of the First Presidency and the twelve Apostles to manage the material interests of the Church—quite a contrast from the work of Christ's first Apostles, who, having material interests, forsook them to follow him.

This materialistic spirit in Mormonism manifests itself in a variety of ways. The tendency in some instances is toward a Church monopoly in certain lines of business. The methods of a Mormon monopoly toward business competitors, even though they may be Mormons, do not differ from the methods of monopolies in other places. In 1904 Charles A. Smuthwaite and Richard J. Taylor, of Ogden, Utah, both Mormons, became interested in the Beck Salt Company and prepared to manufacture salt. They were summoned to Salt Lake City to see President Smith, of the Mormon Church, president also of the Inland Crystal Salt Company, the Church salt monopoly. In this interview President Smith said to Messrs. Smuthwaite and Taylor, "We don't know how much money you brethren have, but we will ruin you."[1] Mr. Smuthwaite was later excommunicated from the Mormon Church for persisting in his salt enterprise, though the reason given for the action was criticism of President Joseph F. Smith.

Other phases of the material activities of the Mormon Church are not wanting. President Joseph F. Smith said in a recent address: "The fact of the matter is, when a man says you can direct me spiritually, but not temporally, he lies in the presence of God—that is, if he has intelligence enough to know what he is talking about." This gives pretty wide latitude for Church activity, and it is used to the best advantage. In making itself a "judge and divider" between various interests, the Mormon Church employs a complete judicial system of its own, which hears civil cases and renders judgments, in some instances directly reversing decisions of the regular courts. In Sevier County, Utah, in 1901, a Bishops' Court of the Mormon Church rendered a judgment that a Miss Cora Birdsall give James E. Leavitt a deed for sixty acres of land homesteaded by Miss Birdsall. The young woman was so harassed in this instance that insanity resulted.[1] A Bishops' Court in Salt Lake City, in 1889, tried a case involving the exchange of property between parties, where a United States Commissioner's Court had already passed on the case. In 1887 a Bishops' Court of Salt Lake City rendered a judgment involving the payment of money and interest in various installments.

Interference by the Mormon authorities in secular matters of various kinds is of frequent occurrence. In 1903, in Brigham City, Utah, Mormon officials interfered in the City Council in the matter of the establishment of an electric light plant. In the same place and the same year two members of the Mormon Church built a dancing pavilion in opposition to "counsel" against the project from the higher Mormon authorities. The result was that the promoters were brought face to face with the all-potent hostility of the Church. The controversy was settled only when the Church authorities were given full control of this public place of amusement, built by private capital, and twenty-five per cent. of the net receipts, "to be disbursed as they see fit for the benefit of the Church in the Box Elder Stake of Zion."

THE POLITICAL SIDE OF MORMONISM

When we come to the political status of Mormonism, we are in the very citidel of the system. The power of the Mormon Church officials to live in defiance of State laws, and to perpetuate a semi-despotic rule over their followers, lies in their usurpation of political power. Is the Mormon Church in politics? Ask that question of any intelligent and unprejudiced man familiar with the situation in Utah and Idaho, and his answer will be, Yes. Listen to the ordinary conversation of men on the trains and in the streets before any election in Utah or Idaho, and you will be impressed with the fact that this union of Church and

[1] Smoot Testimony, Vol. IV., p. 79.

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State is universally accepted. Finally, take the election of Brigham H. Roberts, polygamist, to Congress, and that of Reed Smoot, Mormon Apostle, to the Senate of the United States. It is not the custom for political parties to nominate and elect to high office candidates whose election will inevitably arouse controversy and opposition at home and abroad, and may possibly involve the loss of the office to which the candidate has been elected. It was well known beforehand that this was the situation with regard to Messrs. Roberts and Smoot. Yet in the face of this fact they were both nominated and elected. In no other State of the Union outside of Utah could such a political comedy have been put upon the stage. The fact of a political party committing the colossal blunder of electing to National office men whose election was sure to rouse the antagonism of the whole country can be explained only by the fact that the Mormon Church controls the political situation in Utah and that it nominated and elected these men.

Politics, in the sense in which the word is generally used, does not exist in Utah, outside of Salt Lake City, except to a very limited extent. It is true that there are party organizations, but so long as the candidates on the party tickets of both Democrats and Republicans are acceptable to the Mormon Church it makes no particular difference what party badge is worn locally; but the effort is always made to have the State officers conform to the complexion of the National Government. The situation can scarcely be different when the members of the Mormon Church are required to assume the following oath in the Endowment ceremony, as has been frequently brought out in testimony given under oath: "You, and each of you, do covenant and promise that you will pray, and never cease to pray, Almighty God to avenge the blood of the prophets upon this nation, and that you will teach the same to your children and your children's children unto the third and fourth generations."[1]

The last election in Utah and Idaho, that of November 6, 1906, will serve excellently as an illustration of Mormon interference in politics. In Idaho the issue was whether a Democratic legislature should be chosen, which would in its turn re-elect Senator Dubois to the United States Senate. The Democratic platform contained a very positive anti-Mormon plank, while the Republican politicians denied that there was any Mormon issue in Idaho. In Utah the recently formed American party, about which a word of explanation should be made, was for the first time conducting a State-wide campaign, though the party has no considerable strength outside Salt Lake City and county. It has been charged by the Mormon press that the organization of the American party was due to spleen on the part of ex-Senator Thomas Kearns because he was not returned to the United States Senate. The origin of the American party was briefly this: In the spring of 1904 President Joseph F. Smith, of the Mormon Church, testified in Washington that the people of Utah condoned his continued living in polygamy. This roused the indignation of a multitude of the people of Utah. A meeting was accordingly called for the purpose of refuting this statement. A large number of influential citizens of Salt Lake City met in a hall on Main Street, and here the preliminary organization of the American party took place, the organization being perfected later at a monster mass-meeting held in one of Salt Lake's largest theaters. The American party in Utah is emphatically a protest against the lawlessness of the higher officials of the Mormon Church, confessed by them in the Smoot investigation.

In the election of 1905 the American party carried Salt Lake City. In the election of 1906 it put a full State ticket in the field and a full county ticket in Salt Lake County. There was mortal fear in the ranks of the Mormon hierarchy that the county offices might fall into the hands of Gentiles who would enforce the laws against the Mormon chiefs. In order to prevent such a calamity no effort was spared. It was a foregone conclusion that the Mormons would throw all their power to the Republican party, though the Democratic

[1] Smoot Testimony, Vol. IV., p. 7.

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party had been second in the municipal election of the previous year, and would therefore have appeared the stronger party with which to win. Every effort was made by the Mormon leaders to handicap the Democratic party. Apostle C. W. Penrose, editor of the Deseret News, official organ of the Church, put the following editorial utterance in the columns of the paper in the issue of September 26, 1906:

> Every member of the Church is free to join and support any political party or creed and vote for any candidate that he chooses to aid, and is not under any obligation to submit to arbitrary control in such matters from any one under the sun.

For thus beclouding the issue and publishing what might lead some Latter-Day Saints to think that they really were privileged to vote as they pleased, the Apostolic and Democratic editor was packed out of the State to take charge of the British Mission. Mr. Brigham H. Roberts, sometime rejected Congressman, and an ardent Democrat, in his campaign speeches made dramatic and emphatic declarations that there was not and must not be any Church interference in the politics of Utah. He was too earnest. It was feared that he might make the Mormon people who heard him, especially the Mormon Democrats, believe that what he was saying was true. Besides, he was one of the best of the Democratic speakers; so within three weeks of election day it was found convenient to send Mr. Roberts out of the State on a mission.

In the November, 1906, number of the Improvement Era, a Mormon magazine having a large circulation among the Mormon people, especially of the younger generation, the following letter appeared over President Joseph F. Smith's signature:

> Just now there is a tendency among some of the thoughtless young men to sympathize with the fight against the Church authorities waged by the assassins of virtue, the supporters of vice and riot and wine and lewd women, gambling, robbery, and general corruption. It is a senseless tendency, and they who follow it will do so to their own destruction. At the present time we are about to make choice of some political leaders. It is scarcely necessary to say that a man who has the interest of himself and his people at heart will choose his friends. Who are our friends? Men who have kept informed on the trend of affairs in the Nation for the past two years or more may easily surmise. To vote any other way would be ungracious, against our best interests, and would show a spirit of ungraciousness such as this people do not naturally possess. "Wherefore by their fruits ye shall know them."
>
> JOSEPH F. SMITH.

It would seem as though he who ran might read in this instance, inasmuch as President Roosevelt and the Republican leaders have been claimed by the Mormons as their friends in season and out of season.

On the Saturday preceding the election day, November 3, 1906, the voting machines (used for the first time in this election) were withdrawn from the places where they had been put for the instruction of voters, with the exception of eight which were put into Mormon ward meeting-houses and left there over the Sabbath in order that the Mormon bishops might, on the Lord's Day, instruct their flocks how to vote. What a hue and cry would have been raised if voting machines had been placed in the various Christian churches and Christian ministers had, after morning and evening worship, proceeded to explain how to vote as "the Lord willed"!

The election resulted in the American party carrying Salt Lake City, but the county of Salt Lake and the State were Republican. The Church had won. The Democratic press of November 7 admitted that more than three thousand Mormon Democratic voters had been transferred into the Republican ranks by the Mormon Church in Salt Lake County alone. The Daily Herald (Democratic) called it "an election tragedy."

In Idaho, where, of course, there was no Church influence, the results tell an interesting story. It must be understood that the northern counties of Idaho are Gentile, while the southern counties are Mormon. The great battle was as to whether Senator Dubois, Democrat, who has been very active in combating the political schemes of Mormonism in Idaho, should succeed himself in the United States Senate. Now, the northern counties of Idaho went Democratic by small majorities, while the southern or Mormon

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counties went Republican by immense majorities. A clear line of cleavage runs across Idaho. On one side of that line people vote one way, on the other side another way. There is only one thing to explain this fact. On one side of this line the Mormon Church dictates how its adherents shall vote; on the other side the Mormon hierarchy does not control, and American methods and results obtain.

The effect of the material and political domination of the Mormon Church is, as it could not fail to be, pernicious. The great business interests of the Mormon Church make it a competitor of its own people in almost every line of trade, while the immense resultant patronage gives it a great leverage upon a multitude of men, from the teamster who hauls goods for the Zion's Co-operative Mercantile Institution to the capitalist who is interested in the bonds issued by some of the great Church corporations. The man who has some criticism to make of the manner in which the Church is conducted keeps quiet in view of the tremendous pressure which can be brought to bear against him in a social and economic way. The franchise is made a mockery. A great commonwealth is delivered over to the bossism of the Mormon chiefs. Lawbreaking is protected. A political peonage is instituted. Under these conditions it is not strange that the Democratic party in Utah talks of disbanding. There is no use playing against a sure-thing game. There are muttering and restlessness among the Mormon people. But they have no leader, and they fear to speak too loudly of their discontent, for they fear the punishment that may come. Such is the situation in Utah to-day. Perhaps the American party will be able to deliver the State. It has already done much. Christian agencies are at work, and slowly better things are coming. The last two years have seen wonderful progress, and deliverance, both spiritual and political, must come for Utah in the near future.

II.—THE WAYS OF MORMONS

BY G. A. IRVING

"WHY, they are not different from other people!" is the stock exclamation of Gentiles on visiting the City of the Saints, or seeing Mormons for the first time. They dress and talk and act very much like people elsewhere in corresponding walks of life. No distinctive outward garb or look or speech sets them apart from other men. Yet as one lives among them and sees deeper than outward appearances he soon recognizes certain peculiarities which have come to mark the life of this people.

As would be expected, these peculiarities center in and are the outgrowth of their strange religious beliefs. Religion more than anything else tends, and has always tended, to differentiate men from their fellows. Sometimes it leads them to adopt a distinctive garb; sometimes to follow a peculiar mode of life, sometimes to do unusual and unnatural deeds. More fittingly, and in our day we hope more often, the transformation it works is of the heart and of the life.

In Mormondom the whole life of the people is shaped and colored by the religious conceptions of their past and present. As these conceptions have gone wide of a purely spiritual religion, as they have even included the grotesque and monstrous, and as at the same time they have won a following unsurpassed in devotion, it could not be otherwise than that sect characteristics and peculiarities would develop. Softened somewhat and modified with the later years, still is it true that among the Mormons there exists a distinctive mode of life to be found nowhere else.

While their mode of life cannot be ascribed altogether to their religion, this undoubtedly has been the predominant factor in giving it direction. Of minor factors the heterogeneous character of their population has been the most po-

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tent. Here are gathered representatives from every section of the United States. In a single town may be met persons from nearly every State in the Union. Here, too, are people from many nations. All the countries of Europe are represented, with Scandinavians and English in largest numbers. Thus have been brought together the customs of widely different communities and of many nationalities; and all have had influence in giving form to Mormon life.

The Mormon community life has a character peculiarly its own. Essentially an agricultural people, the custom from early years has been for all persons to reside within the village or city limits. The farm is outside—it may be several miles distant. The farmers with their families live as near neighbors in village or city. Early morning sees the male members of the families going out to the farms, driving their stock before them. On returning in the evening they inclose the stock in the corral (or barnyard, as an Easterner would say) which adjoins the house. Barns of ample dimensions are altogether wanting. Near the corral, or within it, are one or more huge haystacks for winter's use; and this, with some rude sheds, forms the only protection in the winter for the live stock.

The houses, as a rule, are low, one-story structures, built of adobe, or, in more recent years, of brick. The close proximity of dwellings and stock-yards, while not pleasing to the unaccustomed olfactory nerve and appealing in no whit to the æsthetic sense, is said, owing to the very dry climate, not to be so disastrous from a sanitary point of view as one might naturally fear.

The object of this village life has been twofold. In the early days, when Brigham Young and his followers first came to the country, it was designed as a protection against the Indians. Here, as in other sections of the West, the Indians were hostile to the newcomers. In some of the older towns remains of walls are still to be seen which formerly completely encircled the inhabited portions of the township. Opposition from the Indians did not long continue; but as the Mormon religious system assumed more definite form, it was seen that on the religious side many advantages would accrue from the continuance of this community life. It served to unify the life of the people. It promoted an equality of social life. More than all, it made feasible that close supervision of its people which has been a most important factor in the maintenance and growth of the Church. Of late there has been a tendency for farmers to get without the boundaries and reside upon their farms; but this movement is looked upon with ill favor by the ecclesiastical authorities, as it tends towards independence from religious restraints. However, it may readily be seen that this system would not be without its advantages socially, educationally, and religiously in any farming community.

Of the home life of the Mormons a very obvious feature is the large size of the family. It is not that in the ordinary community there are so many plural families. These are to be found in largest numbers in the few large and prosperous towns. Polygamous families in the smaller places are so infrequent as to be a topic of continual comment. The Mormon doctrine concerning marriage—that it is to provide bodies for the many pre-existent spirits; that a woman's highest glory consists in bringing into being as many children as possible, that her heavenly reward depends upon this—fosters the rearing of many children. Quantity is emphasized more than quality, though it would not be fair to say that the Mormon does not desire and seek the best welfare of his children. The command of Scripture, "Be fruitful, and multiply, and replenish the earth," and the saying of the Psalmist, "Happy is the man who has his quiver full of them," are oft quoted in their meetings and discussions.

Home life is on a lower plane than in the ordinary Western town of like status as to age and material surroundings. The houses, as a rule, are squalid and ill kept, and lacking in ordinary comforts. Books and magazines are few. Food is ill cooked. Ignorance of what constitutes sanitary living and an unwillingness to receive instruction from "the world" have held Utah back in this as in other respects. Sickness is frequent,

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and the death-rate among children very high. The Mormon of the older type will have nothing to do with physicians. Prayer and anointings and the laying on of hands are the prescribed means of restoration. Only when death seems imminent, and often all too late, will the physician be called. However, the more intelligent of the people are coming to take a common-sense view of these things.

The Mormon man regards himself and is regarded by the other sex as a being of a higher order than woman. By virtue of his sex he is superior. His will and word are law in his household. The wife has something of the feeling for her husband that existed among the Hebrew women of patriarchal times. She reveres him, is submissive and obedient, and ministers in every way possible to his comfort. She has not attained the position of equality and the freedom and independence which characterize her lot in other sections of our land. While, as a rule, she is kindly treated by her husband, his regard for her is tinged with condescension, as of the superior to the inferior. Her life is toilsome and hard, beset with multitudinous home duties. But she accepts it with submission, often with fortitude, buoyed up by religious hope and promise. In husband and children she loses her life.

In their social relations the Mormon people manifest friendliness and kindliness to a high degree. A feeling of social equality exists among them surpassing that of the ordinary community life. The chief cause of this is that they have a common supreme interest—the Church, their religion. Like the Quakers, they speak of each other and address each other as "brother" and "sister." They permit no secret societies, and look with askance upon clubs to which membership is exclusive. Quarrels and differences which elsewhere would be taken into courts of law are settled within the Church.

As a people they are very fond of amusements, especially of play-going and dancing. This last is one of the much-emphasized features of Mormon life. Every one dances—children, young people, the middle-aged, and the old. The young people give dances for their elders, their elders do likewise for them. A public gathering, be it social, political, or religious, is quite likely to be prolonged into the small hours of the night by this form of amusement.

Dancing is not only sanctioned by the Church; it is made a feature of Church life. The weekly public dance often is held under the auspices of a Church society. Announcement of it may be made at a church or Sunday-school service. In some cases it is held in the church audience-room, movable benches being provided so that the room may be used for this purpose. Incongruous as it may seem, these festive occasions are often opened with prayer. The floor-master may be a high official in the Church. They are likely to continue until well on into the morning. And to say that the etiquette of the Mormon dance is not that of the ordinarily decorous ball-room is to put the matter very mildly. That the dance as indulged in is a mode of dissipation, that it encourages evil tendencies and is the source of sexual wrong; nay, that to it must be attributed a large per cent. of the very early marriages, is recognized even by the Mormon leaders. It is an instance of "the children of light" (?) being as wise as children of the world—for through the dance it is that the Church is able to keep its hand on its young people. It makes this provision for the social side of life, but at a fearful cost. It should be said, however, that the more thoughtful and spiritual of the Mormon people deplore and protest against the excesses to which this form of amusement is carried.

The marriage and baptismal customs of the Mormons are peculiarly their own. The marriage of devout Mormons takes place in the Temple at Salt Lake City. Indeed, this rite, together with Baptism for the Dead, is supposed to be the sole use to which the Temple is put. It is an event shrouded with mystery and approached with awe by the participants. The Endowments, as the rites of marriage are called, are taken by a number of couples at the same time, the ceremonies occupying the larger part of a day. The proceedings are guarded with great secrecy, and the nature of them

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may not be divulged by participants. Hearsay tells (and no doubt with truth) of a new garment presented as type of the new life to be worn perpetually; of a new name given which is not to be revealed on earth, but which will be known and used in mansions above; of the semblance of a miracle play which is given, in which the Head of the Church, or one near to him, represents deity, and other high officials prominent Biblical characters; of stringent oaths of allegiance to the Church which are taken. It is termed a celestial marriage, *i.e.*, one which will not be dissolved by death, as will be the case with marriages contracted without this official Church sanction.

Baptism as a Church rite is performed as it is in other religious bodies. Baptism for the dead is an additional feature of the Mormons' religious practice. This, as well as the doctrines of celestial marriage and plurality of wives, was one of the later "revelations" of Joseph Smith. It is based on the theory that all baptisms from the days of the Apostles to the restoration of the priesthood in Joseph Smith have been invalid. A person living may, therefore, be baptized for his dead ancestors or friends, or for any one who has died without the true baptism; and thus he secures for them in the heavenly life the full benefits of true baptism. It is a rite affording boundless scope to philanthropic and religious sentiment, and it is said that many a prominent character in various historic periods (among them Washington and Lincoln) has been thus supposedly honored and benefited.

The Mormon religious system differs from other religious systems in that it aims to control every department of a man's life. It is not content to direct him morally and spiritually. It interests itself in his business affairs, his home life, his amusements, his joys as well as his sorrows. It seeks to do from without what a pure religion will seek to do from within.

The very thorough and minute organization of the Church administers to the successful working out of this aim. First in the Church are the President and his two Counselors—in Mormon thought a type of the Holy Trinity. Next below stand the twelve Apostles, administrators, with the preceding, of the Church's important interests. Then come the Bodies of Seventy, of which there are many, whose chief duty is to travel and preach under the direction of the Apostles. There are also high priests and elders, who constitute the local ministers at home, who, together with those already named, form the greater or Melchizedek priesthood. The lesser or Aaronic priesthood includes bishops, priests, teachers, and deacons, all officials of the local church. Mormonism is thus seen to be a Church of many offices, and the sense of responsibility thus created is a powerful influence in securing and retaining the interest and allegiance of its members.

Mormonism has no well-formulated religious doctrine. Least of all is such to be found in the Book of Mormon, the supposed basis of the Church. Little superior are the other books of the Mormon faith for making clear to the casual reader the teachings of Mormonism. Mormonism has had no trained ministry, no theologians. Every male member of the Church is a priest, a prophet, a medium of divine communication. The result is a confused jumble of ideas, diverse interpretations. One says Mormonism is this, another that. There is no creed worthy to be called such, no logical expression of belief. To be sure, there is a formulated creed, but it makes no reference to what have been the vital and distinctive features of the Mormons' faith—the teachings which have differentiated them from other religious bodies. Latterly their leaders have been attempting to formulate a consistent religious doctrine. The result has been the appropriation of much that is best in other religious systems, interweaving with this some distinctive doctrines of their own faith. The latest and most ambitious attempt in this direction makes not half a dozen allusions to Joseph Smith or the Book of Mormon in the entire work. It is not the Mormonism of the past or of the Church at large to-day. It is the author's ideal of what Mormonism should be, and as such is interesting and instructive.

The attitude of the ordinary Mormon

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communicant toward his Church is one of almost unbounded faith and devotion. He is exceedingly loyal to the teachings and commands of those in authority, especially to the "Great Prophet," Joseph Smith, and to the present Head of the Church. Through these leaders God has spoken and still speaks to his people, revealing his will. Their word is true and must be obeyed. Hence the hold of the Church upon the people—their sect loyalty, their support of the local organization, their ready and unquestioning giving of tithes, their missionary zeal and devotion. For themselves they are convinced that they are the peculiar people of God, especially favored of him because they are the best of all his children. The rest of the world is in darkness—to be pitied, prayed for, labored for, and converted so far as may be. To them is assigned the stupendous task of saving a lost world. This the body of the Mormon people sincerely believe and teach and seek to fulfill.

As proof of their faith in their Church and its mission to the world a missionary zeal scarce paralleled in present-day life is in evidence. Their own statement that they have more than two thousand missionaries in various fields at home and abroad need not be questioned. These men, going forth from their homes and friends without scrip or purse, dependent for the most part on their field of labor for the satisfaction of daily needs, knowing well that the name they bear will bring upon them ridicule and denunciation, for the most part unlearned and mentally ill equipped for their task, bear most convincing testimony to their assurance of faith.

At any time the call may come to a man to go on a mission. He may yet be in his teens, or he may be in middle life with wife and children. He may have no gift or aptitude of any sort for his work. He may be engaged in a business which seems to demand his presence at home. In any case, if he be loyal, the call is equivalent to a command, and he obeys it. A brief season is given for preparation; he sets his affairs in order, is provided with sufficient money to take him to his field of labor, receives a public farewell, and off he goes, be it to some station in his own country or to a foreign land. It is not necessarily the men best qualified who are called. On the contrary, those lax in the faith or morally and spiritually unfit are often sent. And the outcome is, very often, that through the associations in mission stations and the necessity of defending and propagating their faith, they are transformed into loyal and zealous Church devotees. They return home fortified in their beliefs, and enthusiasts for their Church.

The sincere, devout Mormon disciple, despite the incongruities of his faith and the falsities of the system to which he belongs, is not without many of the qualities of Christian character and life that are commendable whenever and wherever found. His plane of living is of course no higher than the truth he knows; but to say that he is honest, kind, generous, temperate, industrious, is not to go beyond the truth. He exalts his religion, its falsities as well as its truths, but he keeps the "Word of Wisdom" which forbids the use of coffee, tobacco, and intoxicants. He earnestly supports his Church, attends its services, and seeks to bring others to his way of thinking. He cannot understand the attitude of the outside world toward him and his faith. He thinks it is inspired of the Evil One. Persecution and denunciation have made the truly devout Mormon a hero and something of a saint. When he shall have intelligence in proportion to his zeal; when his Church has been relieved of its gross errors of doctrine and purified of the iniquities which are sanctioned in high places and held lightly in the body of the Church, then will he be a better man and a more valuable citizen.

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ONE RUSSIAN

BY A. A. F. JOHNSTON

THE present revolutionary movements in Russia have recalled to mind a story which was told me twenty-five years ago by a Russian exile under an implied promise of secrecy. Remembering that Russia's eye is far-seeing and her arm strong, I have always guarded the story. But now that so many years have passed, I feel assured that no possible harm can come from the telling. I still take the precaution of suppressing all names.

To one reader this story may seem but an isolated case, having no local color; to another reader it may suggest one of the methods in which revolutionary ideas, in spite of the restrictions upon the Russian press, have been disseminated and public opinion created against the Government. To all readers it may prove interesting as an unusual chapter in human experience.

One day a student girl entered my office in Oberlin, Ohio, and said: "There is a man working on my father's farm whom you would like to know."

"And why should I like to know a man who works on your father's farm?" was my answer.

"Because he is so interesting, and there is so much mystery about him," the girl replied; and then she went on with the following account.

"Six months ago a stranger applied to my father for work. He said he wished to 'hire out' for three years. He was not anxious about the wages, but he was very particular about the kind of work that might be required of him. He wanted to learn all about wheat-raising; and he went into details. He must be taught how to select the seed, how to prepare the ground for the sowing, how to care for the growing crop, how to harvest it, how to prepare the grain for market, and, most important of all, he wanted to know where were the best wheat markets of the world and how they were to be reached.

"My father had a suspicion that the stranger was not quite right in his mind, but, being in need of additional help, he told the man that he would hire him for three months, and at the end of that time, if it were agreeable to both, he would hire him by the year. The man was satisfied with this arrangement and immediately went to work. My father said it was perfectly plain that he had never lived on a farm; he did not know the use of the simplest tools; but he learned quickly, never needed to be told twice how to do a certain piece of work, and often improved upon the usual method. He never talked about himself; but we came to know that he was a Russian. One Sabbath morning he appeared at our sitting-room door and asked for a book to read. My mother invited him in, opened the book-case, and told him to select for himself. To our surprise, he chose a copy of Herodotus, in Greek, which my brother had brought home from college. The next week he returned that and took a copy of Virgil. Among the men employed on the farm were a German and an Italian; and he always spoke to each of these in his own language."

I said: "You have proved to me that I should like to know this man. The next time you visit your home, tell him I want to see him; and if at any time he passes through Oberlin, I hope he will stop over a train."

Time went on, and I had almost forgotten about the Russian and his wheat-growing, when one morning my servant came to my room and said: "There's a stranger in the reception-room who asks to see you; but," she added, "he does not look like the other gentlemen who call on you, and perhaps you had better not go down." When I entered the room, the stranger rose, bowed very formally, but did not make known his errand. Wishing to relieve all embarrassment, I asked, "And what can I do for you this morning?" He answered, "I do not know. You sent for me. I am the man who is learning to raise wheat."

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"Yes," I said; "I do want to see you. Please be seated. I hear that you are a Russian; that you are a classical student; that you understand several modern languages. I am interested in all foreigners who come to America, and want them to do the very best thing possible for themselves. With your education, would it not be better for you to look for a situation as a teacher of languages, rather than be spending your time on a farm? You must have references which would help you to a good position."

"You are very kind to interest yourself in a stranger," he replied. "I will tell you why I am in America. I am, as you say, a Russian, and I am a university man from St. Petersburg. Besides my regular work in the university, I belonged to a club the members of which were interested in the study of various questions pertaining to political economy. To our surprise, without the slightest warning, we were arrested by the Government, thrown into prison, and accused of being Anarchists. A trial was rushed through, we having no opportunity of defending ourselves, and we were sentenced to exile in Siberia. I knew if I once went to Siberia I should never live to return; so I feigned sickness, and for two weeks I refused all food. At the end of that time I was sent to a hospital. From this hospital I managed to escape; and, assisted by friends, I went to Paris and there remained in concealment one year. At the end of that time, still so assisted, I secured a position as common sailor on a French steamer bound for New York. I asked the way to a wheat-growing State, and was directed to Illinois. I came West as a tramp. The hardships of that journey would not interest you; but I have vivid memories of hunger and of nights spent upon the cold ground." He stopped as if he had finished; but then added, "Have I made my story clear to you?"

"Yes," I answered; "perfectly clear as far as you have gone. But you have not told me the one thing that I want most to know—why you are so anxious to learn all about raising wheat?"

He looked around the room, and then asked, "Have these walls ears?"

"No," I answered, "these walls have no ears. You can speak here freely."

"Then I will tell you what I hope to do. I intend to return to Russia. I will go into the country by the Black Sea, and make my way to the steppes, until I reach the center of the country. There I hope to secure the position of overseer on a large wheat farm. If the Government lets me live two years, it is all I ask; then it may hang me, quarter me, burn me, or do anything it pleases. I will leave three thousand men behind me who will think as I do."

"And what do you think?" I asked. "Are you a Nihilist?"

"By no means," he answered. "I am neither a Nihilist in sympathy nor in theory. I would not destroy the present government of Russia if I could. But I would limit its power. For the present, and for a long time to come, a monarchy is the only form of government that can exist in Russia. But it should be a constitutional monarchy, that recognizes the rights of the individual."

Wishing to see what effect my question would have, I asked: "Now that you are here, would it not be wiser for you to remain and become a citizen of our free Republic rather than risk your life in what is likely to be a useless effort?"

His eyes flashed; a tremor ran through his whole body. "That is not my idea of patriotism," he exclaimed. "Many must give their lives that Russia may become free."

He rose to his feet, saying, "Thank you for listening to my long story. After so many months of silence, it has been a relief to talk it over."

"I thank you," I replied, "for trusting me. Heaven grant that the efforts made by Russia's brave patriots may bring the long-prayed-for reforms!"

He left; I never saw him again; but in memory he has always figured as the personification of unselfish devotion to high ideals. As I read of the widespread unrest of the Russian peasants, I find myself wondering how far this one man was able to carry out his plan for the dissemination of revolutionary ideas; how many of his proposed three thousand are actually among the insurgents

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who to-day are blindly but persistently battling against a tyrannical government. The sacrifices are great, and so far the results are small; but we must remember, as Guizot so truly says, "that Providence upon all occasions, in order to accomplish its designs, is prodigal of courage, virtue, finally of man; and it is only after a host of noble souls have fallen into despair, convinced that their cause was lost, that it triumphs." Yes, but it triumphs.

THE FIRST CENSUS OF THE UNITED STATES

BY WILLIAM S. ROSSITER

Chief Clerk of the United States Census Office

JUST before the close of the last session of Congress a paragraph was added by the Senate to the Sundry Civil Appropriation Bill—and subsequently accepted by the House of Representatives in consequence of Senatorial insistence—which is likely to prove an important and useful piece of legislation for all persons of American ancestry, and especially for those interested in genealogical and historical research.

"The Director of the Census"—so runs the new law—"is hereby authorized and directed to publish, in a permanent form, by counties and minor civil divisions, the names of the heads of families returned at the First Census of the United States in seventeen hundred and ninety; and the Director of the Census is authorized, in his discretion, to sell said publications, the proceeds thereof to be covered into the Treasury of the United States, to be deposited to the credit of miscellaneous receipts on account of 'Proceeds of sales of Government Property.'"

Incidentally this section of law is an illustration of the marked difference in point of view of the Senate and House of Representatives. The latter body does not look with sympathy upon the accumulation of records. In 1902, when the Census Office was made permanent, and the transfer of census records was under consideration, the House ordered the destruction of the schedules of all the early censuses. These schedules are the only records of the Federal Government in which every citizen of the United States possesses, or ought to possess, a personal interest, and their destruction would be little short of vandalism. The Senate, which seldom jumps at conclusions, perceived the importance of these detailed records and refused to agree to the proposition to wipe them out. It is the Senate, under the lead of Senator Gallinger, of New Hampshire, that has now secured legislation to print in full such schedules of the First Census as still exist.

The Census of 1790 was ordered as soon as practicable after the ratification of the Constitution, as the enumeration was urgently required to put that instrument into effect by securing the exact population basis for representation in Congress. It was taken under the direct supervision of the President, who in those early days was the Federal man-of-all-work, and by him was committed to the Secretary of State—although as we are now organized the State Department would be regarded as farthest removed from such an undertaking as the census.

The task of enumeration was slow and difficult; in fact, there is much uncertainty over the machinery set in motion by Secretary Jefferson. He appears to have communicated directly with the marshals—though in that period of decentralization and semi-independent commonwealths he may have dealt with these officials through the Governors of the States. Unfortunately, the correspondence of the Secretary of State concerning this interesting experiment—for it was the first systematic national enumeration of modern times, whatever the ancients may have attempted—is no

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longer in existence. This break in official records is one of the marks of the teeth of the British lion, these papers and many others having been destroyed during the occupation of Washington in the War of 1812.

The Federal Government seems merely to have specified the facts desired; it did not even supply printed blanks on which to make returns. Thus the individuality of the enumerators is more apparent in the returns of the First and Second Censuses than in subsequent ones. Some enumerators employed large sheets of paper, and some went to the other extreme; there were neat, precise enumerators, and careless, slovenly ones. In consequence of the absence of all restriction, the early schedules are contained in volumes of all sizes and shapes, and comprise the widest variety of manuscript. For Massachusetts alone are the returns uniform. In that progressive Commonwealth printed blanks or schedules were employed, though no one can now explain who furnished them. Vagaries of size, shape, paper, ruling, chirography, and language could easily be forgiven, however, if thereby we might restore the missing schedules for Delaware, Georgia, Kentucky, New Jersey, Tennessee, and Virginia. All the returns for these States and Territories are lacking—another reminder of the British, for they also were destroyed during the occupation of Washington. The schedules still in existence are those for what are now Connecticut, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New York, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, and Vermont. In 1790 the total population of the young Republic, exclusive of slaves, was 3,231,533. Of this number 824,713 resided in the States and Territories for which schedules are missing, and 2,406,820 in those for which schedules exist. Thus one-quarter of the enumeration is now lacking.

If we assume that the families of that early period averaged six persons, the proposed publication will contain approximately 400,000 names of heads of families. These can be contained easily in a couple of volumes of twelve or thirteen hundred pages each; and as the Census Office devotes especial attention to the typographical appearance of its publications, this interesting historical record, after many vicissitudes, will at last appear in handsome and durable volumes. Publication, however, must necessarily be slow, for the original schedules, now filling twenty-six volumes, cannot be used as printers' copy, but must all be transcribed, for many are torn, and a large number are fast becoming illegible. Even if we ignore the destructive power of one hundred and sixteen years, constant reference by genealogical enthusiasts and persons seeking information for legal and other reasons would have torn and worn the sheets. Many of the schedules in poor condition, and the charred ones also—the latter vivid reminders of the British bonfires—are held together only by the liberal use of silk gauze. The original bindings in which ambitious enumerators submitted their returns to the State Department have in many cases nearly disappeared. These same coverings suggest the poverty of material a century and more ago. A North Carolina enumerator, for example, used a bit of crude wall-paper in which to inclose his returns. At the Second Census an enumerator, who seems to have exhausted his last sheet of blank paper in preparing the schedules, falls back on a copy of the Edenton Gazette as a cover, and in consequence, amid dry census schedules, one is suddenly confronted with an essay by Benjamin Franklin upon "The Art of Securing Pleasant Dreams." Perhaps the genial old philosopher-statesman could not have chosen a better resting-place for his discourse. Who that consults these volumes fails to pause at this oasis? "When you are wakened by uneasiness," says Dr. Franklin—one cannot pass that worn and yellow copy of the Edenton Gazette without quoting—"and find that you cannot easily sleep again, get out of bed, beat up and turn your pillow, shake the bed clothes well with at least twenty shakes, then throw the bed open, and leave it to cool; in the meanwhile, continuing undrest walk about your chamber, till your skin has had time to discharge its load, which it will do sooner

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as the air may be drier or cooler. When you begin to feel the cold air unpleasant, then return to your bed and you will soon fall asleep and your sleep will be sweet and pleasant. All the scenes presented to your fancy will be of the pleasing kind. I am often as agreeably entertained by them as by the scenery of an opera."

When the census was taken in March, 1790, the Union consisted of but twelve States. Included in the enumeration, however, were Rhode Island, last of the original thirteen, which entered the federation about three months later, and Vermont, the first addition, which became a State in the following year. The total area of the young Nation was but slightly more than 800,000 square miles, and of this area but little more than one-quarter was settled. In those days "the far West" merely referred to Ohio and the western portions of Pennsylvania and New York. Beyond the Mississippi stretched the unexplored dominions of the Spanish King, to whom also belonged Florida. Philadelphia was the capital of the Union, for Washington, like thirty-two States and Territories now represented in the Nation's councils, did not exist.

The entire cost of the enumeration was only $44,377. The census was taken by seventeen marshals and less than two hundred assistants. The results, in the form of totals for towns, cities, counties, and States, exclusive of the returns for South Carolina, were transmitted to Congress by President Washington, October 27, 1791. This report occupied fifty-six small printed pages, and is now a rare volume.

Such facts as these faintly suggest the marvelous progress of the Nation since the assistant marshal of 1790, with quill pen and ink-horn in his saddle-bags, made his toilsome journey over rough roads to secure the first count of inhabitants. Yet the men he enumerated, the "heads of families," as Congress calls them, were the fathers of the Republic who laid the foundations so broad and deep that the great superstructure which has been reared since seems sure long to exist. Congress has done nothing more fitting and appropriate in many a day than to order that the names, as far as we still have them, of the men of the American Republic at its beginning should now be published in enduring form.

INDUSTRIAL DEMOCRACY

THE LABOR PRESS

BY CHARLES STELZLE

SOMEBODY recently said that the average workingman reads his labor paper as the early Christians read their New Testament. However that may be, a practical advertising manager insists that as an advertising medium a labor paper is fully ten times as valuable as the ordinary daily paper.

There are about three hundred of these papers in this country—two hundred weeklies and a hundred monthlies, in round numbers. Most of the weeklies are conducted as private enterprises. Sometimes they are the official organs of central labor bodies which comprise practically all of the unions in the city, in which case there is a board of directors, appointed by the central body, to whom the editor is immediately responsible. Rarely does this governing body dictate the policy of the editor, excepting in a very general way. In either case their general circulation is limited to the cities or counties in which they are published. The monthly journals are usually the organs of particular trades or occupations, and have a National circulation. Various methods for increasing their distribution are resorted to, but the usual and the most effective way is to offer special inducements to a local union for the subscription of its entire membership, the paper thus being sent directly to their homes through the mails. Ordinarily, the amount necessary for this subscription is taken from the treasury

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of the union. Hence the average labor union man reads not only his trade journal, which deals with the affairs of his craft, but also receives the local paper, which seeks to keep him informed with reference to the doings of organized labor in the town in which he lives. It is safe to say that nearly every trades-unionist reads some kind of a labor paper, which he in many cases passes on to his fellow-workmen who are not in the union, and in most cases it is also read by the members of his own family. It has been estimated that the labor press has a constituency of about ten millions, which includes the persons in the homes of the subscribers. From the professional advertising man's view-point this is a conservative estimate, as there are about three million trades-unionists in the United States and Canada, most of the trades papers, at any rate, being distributed in both countries.

While practically every labor journal is a bona-fide trades union paper, a large percentage of them conduct Socialist columns, which are edited by local men. As a rule, these columns are stiffly written, not at all in harmony with the usual propaganda material issued by the Socialist publishing houses and by some Socialist newspapers. A few of the papers are purely Socialistic in their tone, even though posing as trades union advocates. Recently, however, there has come such strong criticism, both with reference to local papers and some trade journals which have been guilty of this, to many trades-unionists, unpardonable sin, that there have been editorial changes in some of the important labor papers of the country, while in a number of trades their conventions have decided that hereafter "all Socialistic propaganda in our journals must be cut out."

The editors of the labor press usually come from the ranks. They are in but few instances trained newspaper men. In many cases the National Secretary of the organization will serve as editor. Frequently they are practical printers, who conduct job printing offices in connection with their newspapers in order to make expenses, for a labor paper does not always offer a life of ease and comfort, even aside from the trials that are peculiar to editors. As a class, they are honest, in spite of the temptation to "graft" which comes to nearly every labor editor from employers, politicians, and ambitious "labor leaders." That they withstand this temptation is to their credit, for the salaries paid them are, as a rule, pitifully small. One of the brightest and best-informed editors in this country receives only fifteen dollars a week for his services. Comparatively few, however, have the education to get out a first-class paper from the literary standpoint. But they are not expected to print "literature"—they are supposed to be informed on trade conditions, and to tell about these things in the language of the man in the shop. And most of them do it well.

The disposition to present the views of the employing class in the labor press is a source of constant surprise. Compared with the organs of the employers' associations, labor papers are unusually fair in their treatment of the labor question. Contrary to the general impression, rarely does there appear an article which one might call radical. The conservatism and the restraint of these workingmen is most admirable. Following are the titles of a number of editorials and articles which were taken at random from among the papers of a single week's production:

"Down with Drink;" "Contracts Must be Kept;" "Labor Must be True;" "Labor's Chief Glory;" "Must be No Restriction of Output;" "Weak and Incompetent Leadership;" "Character Supreme;" "Do your Christian Duty."

The themes which are most frequently discussed in the labor press are the union label, the union shop, immigration, intemperance, child labor, women toilers, political policies, and the reasons why men should be loyal to their unions. There are seasons when other subjects are given prominence, but these are the problems to which the editors give most of their thought. Constantly there is the appeal for temperate living. Corruption in labor circles is unmercifully scored. High ideals in the home and in family life are insistently presented. The appeal to the heart, in editorial, in

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story, in illustration, and in news item, is found in nearly every issue. The labor paper has its Woman's Page or its Home Department. Many of the papers contain notices of the regular church services. News of the theater has its place, and I have wondered sometimes if the prominence given to this phase of social life was not largely due to the fact that theater advertising managers supply the labor press with rather "fetching" cuts. Lists of the regular meetings of the local unions have a permanent place in their columns. The "unfair" employers are listed for the information of purchasers. The principles for which organized labor stands are noted in many editorial columns. Sermons containing the slightest allusion to labor are sometimes printed in full. An exposition of the International Sunday-school lesson is printed in many labor papers, and is no doubt supplied by houses that furnish plate matter. It is from this source, by the way, that many of them get their "patent insides"—the plate matter that goes into the ordinary country newspaper. Just now the problem of exterminating the "white plague" is receiving considerable attention. Undoubtedly this will greatly help in wiping out this curse of the working people. As a rule, there is a fine loyalty to the policy of the American Federation of Labor, as expressed by the actions of the Executive Council as well as by its annual convention.

Some labor papers employ special writers whose columns might easily have a place in any first-class journal. The recently developed political activity of trades-unionism is introducing into the world of labor a class of writers who will soon become a power. A labor press writers' association has come into existence, which is composed of "free lances" in the labor world, who have no fees or favors to ask excepting that their "stuff" be printed. There are several press bureaus which supply the labor papers with news matter at a small charge, besides other information of a more or less interesting character. Reform movements send their propaganda material for publication. Practically every labor paper prints an article sent regularly by the church and labor department of a leading Protestant denomination, the following titles giving a general idea as to the nature of this material: "Has the Minister a Closed Shop?" "Is the Church Opposed to Workingmen?" "How the Church and Labor may Co-operate;" "Socialism and the Church;" "Duty versus Rights;" "Labor's Progress;" "Labor Leaders in the Church;" "Every-day Christianity;" "Judging Trades-unionism." Sometimes these articles discuss trades-unionism as such, but from the view-point of the Church. It has been noted that those articles which contain the most "religion" are given the greatest prominence. There is a growing tendency to be fair toward the Church in her approach to workingmen. The press, for the most part, seems inclined to credit the Church with sincerity in her efforts in their behalf. The trade journals in almost every instance give considerable space to purely technical matters, thus supplying a course in technology which must be of great value to the mechanics and especially to the apprentices in the trade. Indeed, many of these journals are of the highest type in both matter and in general make-up, comparing favorably with the average monthly magazine sold on the news-stands.

As a rule, the attitude of the labor press toward the employer is fair and reasonable. There is a disposition to regard him as a friend. But toward the man who opposes organized labor through an employers' association or a citizens' alliance, with a determination absolutely to crush it out, there is always the strongest feeling of resentment and bitterness. There is no class of men—not even the "scabs" whom they employ—who are more sincerely hated and more persistently ridiculed. There is, however, not the slightest disposition to advocate the use of violence in dealing with them.

Almost unanimous is the desire to have the trades union enter politics, although many warnings have been sounded by conscientious editors against narrowness and recklessness.

The labor press suffers, as does every other part of the labor movement, in

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that many of the men who are developed in the ranks soon find other and more remunerative employment, where the responsibility is not so great and where the criticism is not so severe. Some of them become labor editors on daily papers, others go into the professions, some become politicians many enter upon a business career, while still others are engaged by large employers to handle for them the labor problem as it exists in their plants.

FOUR RECENT BIOGRAPHIES

BY HORATIO S. KRANS

VARIETY is the spice of letters as well as of life, and of this there is a plenty in the books here to be considered, as there was also in the group of this season's biographies[1] recently reviewed in these pages. The present volumes direct attention to two Englishmen, the one a philosopher and critic, the other a statesman; to an Italian poet of the Renaissance; and to an American who was both a soldier and a novelist. Frederic Harrison's book, the most substantial and interesting of the works referred to, may properly have the first consideration.

In the part of "Memories and Thoughts"[2] that is biographical the author has taken his Life into his own hands, and has found an accomplished chronicler. He has little to say of external events, but sketches the history of his opinions from the time when, as a boy, he "took the sacrament with a leaning towards transubstantiation," to the time when he reached the haven of Positivism in which he has ridden safely at anchor ever since. The long voyage from his High Church point of departure to the port which he has made his home was accomplished without spiritual hardship and without stress or strain. And once arrived at his destination he was at peace, and looked back without regrets or misgivings. It is a singular pleasure to read the cheering story of this hardy voyager, always in good heart, who has navigated his stanch vessel so successfully through the perilous seas of thought and opinion that have stranded so many bewildered mariners upon the naked shingles of uncharted lands. "I have never known," says Mr. Harrison, "any abrupt break in mental attitude; nor have I felt change of belief to involve moral deterioration, loss of peace, or storms of the soul. I never parted with any belief till I had found its complement; nor did I ever look back with antipathy or contempt on the beliefs which I had outgrown. . . . Superhuman hopes and ecstasies have slowly taken form in my mind as practical duties and indomitable convictions of a good that is to be." As we read a passage like this, what a striking contrast is suggested between the spiritual fortune of this philosopher of cheerful yesterdays and confident to-morrows, and the fortunes of certain of his older and younger contemporaries—between him and Carlyle with his spiritual indigestion, Tennyson with his persistent waverings and dubitations, Arnold with his longing backward glances, or Leslie Stephen and his struggles to cut the cable and gain his freedom.

But enough has been said of the autobiographical side of this book. The bulk of it is made up of essays and sketches designed to meet various demands, and differing widely in theme and treatment. Sometimes the author travels over the surface of his subject, sometimes he goes deep, but in either case he moves with security and carries illumination with him. The range of subjects, in all of which the author is at home, the breadth of view, the grasp of detail, the insight into life, the firm convictions, the generous tolerance, may well fill a reader with admiration. It is all one with him, apparently, whether he deals with literature, art, philosophy, the

[1] See The Outlook for November 24, pages 713-716.
[2] *Memories and Thoughts.* By Frederic Harrison. The Macmillan Company, New York.

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history of the Old World or the New, with morals and manners, or with sketches of travel. Mr. Harrison declares that he does not pretend to be a man of letters, and has never "wasted an hour about style or the conditions of literary success." But this is, from the reader's standpoint, neither here nor there; style and literary success are his, and we may felicitate him upon having come by both these good things upon such easy terms. And these essays—notably those on Tennyson and Ruskin—reveal in the writer a very exceptional critical faculty, a faculty for disengaging the characteristic excellences of an author, setting aside his errors and shortcomings, and so clearing the way for just appreciation and full enjoyment. Indeed, the scattered writings, happily brought together in permanent form in the present volume, remind us again that we are to regard Mr. Harrison not only as the chief of English Positivists, whose influence sways the devotees of a more or less esoteric doctrine; he is also to be regarded—and this, thanks largely to the literary force and grace to which he will make no claim—as a social power, a preacher of other-worldliness, the fearless champion of all who are desolate and oppressed, the sworn enemy of the gospel of Mammon, and withal a brilliant critic, essayist, and historian. The reader need fear no attempt at propaganda in these pages. The essays clearly proceed from the fixed and characteristic standpoint of the disciple of Comte, but the Positivism is nowhere obtrusive.

The personal note is dominant throughout Mr. Harrison's book, which leaves us with a sense of friendly and close acquaintance with a writer in whom seriousness of purpose, firm convictions, broad culture, and generous sympathies combine with the thinker's love of truth, the artist's love of beauty, and a keen zest for the joys of living. And now and again, in the informality of his manner, he gives rein to a whimsicality, a willfulness, a petulance, or an extravagance that lend to his style a pungent tang or a pleasing piquancy. On the whole, "Memories and Thoughts" is a book to read and read again, compact of good matter well indited.

Lord Rosebery's book[1] is a brilliantly executed portrait of one of the most interesting statesmen of the nineteenth century, and "one of the most meteoric of Parliamentary figures." Indeed, so brilliant in execution is this essay that, by its literary quality alone, it seizes the attention and holds it from end to end. Terse, sententious, epigrammatic, sparing in adjective, strong in substantive and verb, the style is marked by singular speed, force, and vitality. The author drives home the point of his thought with telling rhetorical effect, and clinches it with a fine dexterity.

The Lord Randolph Churchill who lives in these pages is a very human person, with a generous measure of good qualities and a fair share of faults and shortcomings—a man full of charm both in private and public life, but petulant and willful. His seasoning was always high. But though quick in anger, he was placable, and cherished no animosities. Whatever his hand found to do, he did it with every nerve and fiber. Strenuous in politics, he was also an enthusiastic devotee of chess, of the science of gastronomy, and of horse-racing—this last an amusement, says Lord Rosebery (echoing Lord Palmerston), which, though exciting, is less so than the great game of politics. As a companion, Lord Randolph was delightful. His talk flashed with wit, and set in full play his faculty for satire and irony. Among his friends he was frank to a daring cynicism that scared prigs and scandalized strangers.

As we read Lord Rosebery's sketch of the career of this "shooting-star of politics," we feel the spell of his magnetic personality, and recognize his wonderful fascination of manner, his resourcefulness, his marvelous readiness in debate. He is presented as a party leader dashing and dauntless in attack, but lacking the knowledge and experience from which alone a settled and firm policy can spring.

The author's task in writing this book, which was designed as a tribute to friendship, was one of singular difficulty and delicacy, for he was at once the personal friend and the political opponent of

[1] *Lord Randolph Churchill.* By Lord Rosebery. Harper & Brothers, New York.

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Lord Randolph. To accomplish this task in the right way it was necessary to reconcile the claims of truth and sentiment and to abjure sentimentality. Clearly, Lord Rosebery's feeling towards the man of whom he writes was mixed and complex. Admiration for his brilliant and amiable qualities he had in abundance. Yet nowhere do his words ring with the note of whole-hearted devotion. A friend might have wished to speak more warmly or to have remained silent. This is felt as we listen to the relentless emphasis, behind which there is something very like a cool disdain, upon the faults and weaknesses of Lord Randolph's character as revealed by a study of his public life. Over these faults and weaknesses no veiling mist of sentiment is spread. We are plainly told that he was unembarrassed by scruple; that he fought with any weapons; that "as regards policy he was capable of anything;" and that in his attacks on Gladstone his audacity ran into impudence and insolence.

Lord Rosebery's essay is especially interesting where it sets forth the author's understanding of the causes of Lord Randolph's failure. This is in part ascribed to a temperamental waywardness and impatience, and for the rest to the fact that, though patrician by birth and instinct, his convictions were not merely liberal, but radical. Toryism stands for a cautious and limited, not to say timid, dealing with social questions, and this was not Lord Randolph's way. He was for handling such questions boldly and liberally, without consideration for, or deference to, class and privilege. This the men of his party came at last to realize, and saw in their leader "a wolf of radicalism in the sheepskin of Toryism." It was Lord Randolph's radical leanings that led him to ignore the party tie. He forgot its strength, and, running full tilt at the machine, he wrecked his own ambitions.

This book of Lord Rosebery's is certainly a fascinating study, absorbingly interesting from first to last. And yet, because of the anomalous attitude of the author toward the subject of his essay, it leaves an impression that is decidedly unpleasant.

Mr. Gardner's "The King of Court Poets,"[1] which is a study of the life, works, and times of Ariosto, carries with it an air of scholarly authority, and will probably prove satisfactory to the scientific historian, as well as to those specially interested in the Italian poet who wish the latest word of scholarship and research concerning him and his work. This book is documented with due care, equipped with full bibliography, and furnished with illustrations of prime interest. For all these things we may be thankful. But it is a labored book, and fails to revive the dry bones of history. In a work of this kind and compass we may fairly expect a bright illumination of Ariosto's character from a study of his works and of the history of his times, and an illumination of his work as a result of his biographical investigations. What we get is an imposing array of historical facts that cross and recross, and continually obliterate, the line of the poet's own life. Again and again Ariosto and all that concerns him are buried under dry mountainous chronicles of campaigns, diplomacies, political intrigues, and all the shifting alliances and embroilments of pope and emperor and king.

In the "Orlando Furioso"—that strange blend of high romance, fantasy, satire, irony, and a realism as highly seasoned as that of the broadest of fabliaux—Ariosto created an immortal work, that bore away the bell from his great rivals Pulci and Boiardo. Even in Rose's imperfect translation the "Furioso" opens a world where a romantic imagination—especially an imagination in which there lurks an ironic consciousness of the fantastic unreality and extravagance of its dreams—can abandon itself to the most delectable errantries and adventures. It is strange that so delightful a poem is to-day so little read. And the writer who once again calls attention to it does good service. In this book, where Mr. Gardner attempts to seize upon the distinctive charm of the "Furioso," he has not been greatly successful. His criticism is not of the rare kind that irresistibly

[1] *The King of Court Poets.* By Edmund C. Gardner. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York.

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impels a reader to the perusal of the work discussed. Indeed, we are of the opinion that the few chapters Symonds devotes to Ariosto bring us to a better understanding of the poem, and make us more intimately acquainted with the poet, than do the fourteen chapters of this sizable volume. "The King of Court Poets" is a book in which the scholar may find more to his purpose than the reader who, without any very keen appetite for detailed history and unimportant biographical detail, reads for pleasure and for general information.

In the case of some biographies the character lends importance to the incidents; in the case of others it is the incidents that lend importance to the character. General Wallace's[1] autobiography belongs to the latter class, and it was a just instinct that led him to devote the bulk of his two volumes to accounts of battle and siege and to adventures in flood and field during the Mexican and Civil Wars. Where his book tells the story of his early life, and concerns itself with the manners and customs of the small Hoosier communities in which he was born and bred, it quite lacks savor. The provincial life he describes has neither the rude vigor nor the pioneer spirit of the frontier, and the picture of the ante-bellum civilization of the Middle West, wanting as it is in grace and charm, is far from engaging or attractive. It is not until the hero turns soldier and gets his marching orders that the book takes on a lively interest. The General has an honorable war record, and this first-hand chronicle of the gallant part he played in the great civil struggle stirs the blood and is worthy of the attention of all students of the history of that period. He has a marked gift for picturesque panoramic description of armies in action. And the scenes through which he passed left vivid and indelible impressions. Again and again the whole battlefield, with all its sights and sounds, is brought before us—the moving troops, the boom and smoke of the big guns, the shriek of the shells, and the shouting of the hosts.

As a writer, General Wallace is chiefly known as the author of three novels, one of which, "Ben Hur," perhaps the *pièce de résistance* of the fiction of the Hoosier School, has enjoyed an unbounded popularity alike in America and in Nonconformist Britain, while the other two, "The Fair God" and "The Prince of India," have found a very considerable vogue. But, despite their popularity, these stories will not occupy a very high or secure place in American literature. From the artistic standpoint there is about them all a suggestion of the brummagem product. And with regard to "Ben Hur," one thinks of the "Vie de Jésus," and marvels at the courage that hurled the General into the breach where men of special knowledge might well have feared to tread. But the success of these novels is not hard to understand—and least of all the success of "Ben Hur." In that book the author chose a subject in which there was the most general interest. And he treated it in a fashion that, while it agreeably stimulated the imagination, made small demands upon it—the very manner of writing which insures the widest if not the most lasting appeal.

[1] *Lew Wallace: An Autobiography.* Harper & Brothers, New York.

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Comment on Current Books

Another "Great Writers" Book

Miss Esther Singleton has done notable service in popularizing the wonders of nature and the wonders of art, and in describing famous personalities and famous cities. Among the cities none can be so well worth describing as in Rome, and a volume of collected opinions and appreciations by great writers on the Eternal City is always a useful thing to have on hand. Miss Singleton makes an interesting and picturesque choice as to authors. Maurice Maeterlinck stands alongside Isaac Taylor, and Augustus J. C. Hare alongside Émile Zola. Charles Dickens and Nathaniel Hawthorne come together, and so do Edward Gibbon and Linda Villari. Such a varied assortment of people certainly gives to any one—whether a traveler or stay-at-home reader—a comprehensive view of Rome. The book is confessedly only a partial attempt at description. Miss Singleton's space limitations are her very evident excuse for not paying more attention to certain features in Rome and to its environs. (Rome as Described by Great Writers. Edited by Esther Singleton. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $1.60, net.)

Beached Keels

Here are three good stories which have more or less close intimacy with the sea and equally so with the life of the seagoing man on shore. All of these three tales, but more especially the first, have quite unusual vigor and originality. The author's chief fault is a somewhat abrupt manner. One feels that he is entirely capable of writing a novel that would make its mark if he should choose to take a larger canvas and paint his picture a little less in single strong strokes and a little more in detail and with atmospheric effect. This is not said, however, in carping criticism of Mr. Rideout's present work, but because its excellence leads one to hope that he may do even better work and on a broader scale. (Beached Keels. By Henry Milner Rideout. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $1.50.)

The Cambridge Modern History

Another volume has been added to the monumental history planned by the late Lord Acton, and developed on the co-operative principle by leading specialists in historical research. The latest installment, while entitled "The Thirty Years' War," deals with much more than that great religious struggle, covering also the internal history of the various European countries during the first sixty years of the seventeenth century. As before, the emphasis is on political and military matters, and far more attention is paid to movements and events than to the actors therein, with the result that the famous figures of the period—Gustavus Adolphus, Richelieu, Mazarin, Cromwell, Tilly, Wallenstein, and the rest—are, as a rule, seen all too indistinctly. A noteworthy exception is found, however, in Mr. Leathes's chapters on France, in which one is really made to *feel* Richelieu and Mazarin. The Thirty Years' War itself is discussed by Dr. A. W. Ward, the well-known Master of Peterhouse, in a way that is thoroughly scholarly but cannot be called entirely satisfactory, being burdened by a mass of facts and names and dates imposing too great a strain on the student. More readable and not less valuable are Dr. Prothero's chapters on the constitutional struggle and the Civil War in England, and Major Martin Hume's capital study of Spain and Spanish Italy under Philip III. and Philip IV. Mention should also be made of two excellent monographs on "The Fantastic School of English Poetry" and "Descartes and Cartesianism," by, respectively, Mr. A. Clutton-Brock and M. Émile Boutroux. (The Cambridge Modern History. Planned by the Late Lord Acton, LL.D. Edited by A. W. Ward, Litt.D., G. W. Prothero, Litt.D., Stanley Leathes, M.A. Vol. IV. The Thirty Years' War. The Macmillan Company, New York. $4, net.)

The Declaration of Independence

It is impossible to convey within the limits of any book notice an adequate idea of the research that has gone to the making of Mr. John H. Hazelton's study of the Declaration of Independence. The publishers' claim that never before has the history of the Declaration been written in "so thorough and painstaking a manner" is fully substantiated. No available reference to the immortal document seems to have escaped Mr. Hazelton's eager scrutiny. He has ransacked public and private libraries for everything that would throw new light on the subject, and he has labored diligently to make the student acquainted with his sources of information by indicating each plainly and by reproducing so far as possible the documentary evidence on which his conclusions rest. Indeed, his history of the Declaration is largely a history told by contemporaries, very much after the manner of Alexander Brown's "The Genesis of the

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United States." More than one-half of the book is given over to notes, citations, and appendices; and not only this, but the text proper is largely a narrative compiled from memoirs, letters, state papers, and the like. In this way Mr. Hazelton presents in turn the conditions antecedent to the Declaration, the initial steps that led up to the Declaration, the story of its adoption and signing, and an account of its consequences and the way in which it was received both in the colonies and in the mother country. On the many moot questions connected with it he is precise and sound. We notice, however, that his discussion of the much-debated Mecklenburg Declaration proceeds without the aid of the evidence which has so recently been discovered in North Carolina, and which would seem to indicate the necessity for a modification of the opinions held by Mr. Hazelton in common with most historians. Still, until the matter is explored further, there cannot be room for legitimate criticism of his position, and his monumental treatise will remain our most detailed and satisfactory history of the Declaration of 1776. (The Declaration of Independence. By John H. Hazelton. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $4.50, net.)

The Doctor There is a vein of directness and humanity in the writing of Mr. Connor which has a tendency to disarm criticism, and the character of the doctor in the present novel has so many of the nobler attributes that it is difficult to express its limitation. Yet there is an artistic weakness, and it lies in the reiterated appeal to the reader's finest sentiment. The sympathies are called into play so constantly that the truly pathetic moment loses in quality, for want of that emotional reserve so finely understood by Thackeray. "The Doctor" is called a story of the Rockies, but there is little sense of definite locality in the first half of the book, and the reader is left in some confusion as to places. The second half is more consistent in every way, and the atmosphere of a Western camp is well suggested. The book is quite worth reading, but not so direct in its appeal as "The Sky Pilot." (The Doctor: A Tale of the Rockies. By Ralph Connor. Fleming H. Revell Company, New York. $1.50.)

Domestic Science A strong point is made in this sensible book by Professor Lucy Maynard Salmon, that we cannot dignify labor from the kitchen end. All true reform must begin at the top, she says. As long as women undertake housekeeping "hating" it and regarding it as mere unskilled labor, so long will it be a problem. But another necessity to secure reform is the cultivation of simple business sense in both mistress and maid. While the author does not offer any universal agent for a lightning change, she does write with knowledge and ability, and her opinion should have weight with thoughtful women. (Progress in the Household. By Lucy Maynard Salmon. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $1.10, net.)

The Dragon Painter "The Dragon Painter" is picturesque in a loosely decorative way. The characters of the romance belong to screens or fans; it is the Japan of the popular imagination, and the scenes are effective in a sense, but there is nothing fine or interpretative about the writer's touch. (The Dragon Painter. By Mary McNeil Fenollosa. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1 50.)

English History and English Historians An interesting experiment is embodied in Professor Charles A. Beard's "Introduction to the English Historians." In common with other teachers of history, Professor Beard has been impressed with the great difficulty of controlling the student's collateral reading and of obtaining satisfactory evidence that such reading has been faithfully done, and he has hit upon the idea of compiling a volume that shall serve at once as a bibliography and as a topical handbook. Time alone can demonstrate the success of his experiment from the pedagogical point of view, but there can be no doubt as to the value of his work to the general reader of history. It covers, in brief compass and in the words of the highest authorities on each special topic, the most salient facts in the institutional and political development of England from the earliest times to the present day, and, supplied as it is with connecting links written by Professor Beard, it forms a consecutive and readable whole. Gardiner, Froude, Macaulay, Freeman, Stubbs, Maitland, McKechnie, and a host of other writers of first-rate importance are represented by long quotations, and as a rule Professor Beard shows himself abreast of the discoveries of the most recent research. Of course there is room for criticism, as there needs must be where the field is so large and the workers are so many, but on the whole the book reflects the greatest credit on its author, and it is to be hoped that the idea inspiring it will be crowned with success. (Introduction to the English Historians. By Charles A. Beard, Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.60, net.)

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G. Bernard Shaw Much diversion may be found within the two volumes that contain selections from the dramatic opinions and essays of Mr. Shaw which appeared in the London Saturday Review. Having deserted the "chain-gang" of criticism, he now demonstrates the fact that he possesses the creative faculty himself. As is well known, he is a strong partisan of Ibsen, an irreverent scoffer at much of Shakespeare, and full of unmitigated scorn for the Elizabethans beloved of Lamb. Mr. James Huneker, who writes an introduction for the book, declares the Shaw of these pages to be that rare bird, a perfectly honest man, whimsical and grimacing as he is at times. Certainly it is quite impossible to ignore him; he is provokingly quotable. His daring paradoxes are tremendously entertaining, and when he is gravely analyzing his reasons for admiring anything, his opinion is really impressive. In a brief essay upon "Morris as Actor and Dramatist" he is at his serious best in thought, though, as usual, brilliantly witty in expression. The paragraph upon why Morris did not go to the theater is perfect. He says no one would ever dream of asking why Morris did not read penny novelettes, or hang his room with Christmas-Number chromolithographs. Morris did not go to the theater simply because there was no reason why he should go; and there follows a scathing criticism of the modern stage in England. Yet Shaw believes that if Morris had started a Kelmscott Theater instead of a Kelmscott Press he would have produced work that would in a decade have affected every theater all over the world. If any one finds himself dull, let him read some of these brilliant iconoclastic utterances. (Dramatic Opinions and Essays. By G. Bernard Shaw. In 2 vols. Brentano's, New York. $2.50, net.)

The Heart of Music An attractive book for all passionate lovers of the violin, and yet one that, by reason of the great mass of facts collected, will hold the attention of students. The style of the author reminds one of gracefully woven fragrant garlands looped about the really romantic history of the instrument that moves men most profoundly. Beginning far back in the region of legend, the story of this most ancient of all stringed instruments grows from the turtle-shell to the marvel of Stradivarius, and is enthroned as the one Perfect Thing—"the heart of music incarnate and triumphant." (The Heart of Music. By Anna Alice Chapin. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $1.60, net.)

Half a Rogue A bright, entertaining story of a successful dramatic writer who became a defeated candidate for mayor of his native town. The other man and the two principal women in the romance are well drawn. We confess our stupidity, but, really, which one is half a rogue? Perhaps rogue is not properly defined in the dictionary as an "idle, disreputable person." Can the author mean pretty, innocent Patty whose portrait is printed beneath the title of the book? Not one of the actors is both idle *and* disreputable. (Half a Rogue. By Harold MacGrath. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Indianapolis.)

In the Fire of the Heart Ralph Waldo Trine has collected a vast quantity of statistics and quotable facts upon social conditions in America and woven them together in the web of his own enthusiasm for humanity. His aim is to review and deal with certain patent facts and forces in connection with each one of us and our community. He apprehends adverse criticism from several sources, but his ideas and opinions are not sufficiently novel to arouse bitterness. He paints a dark picture of our economical situation, and arraigns in fervid periods the careless wealth of our country. The laboring man has a complete advocate in him, and his appeal is primarily to "that splendid, great 'common people' that has made our Nation of importance." He has firm faith in governmental ownership, and warns us against the evil of forgetting that *we* are the government and can control things if we will. The "joint agreement" and "direct legislation," with the added good of the excellent type of young men now taking part in politics, will in the end, with other improvements already begun, cure our present social crimes. A characteristic note is struck in the final chapter, reminding us that the writer is the author of "In Tune with the Infinite." (In the Fire of the Heart. By Ralph Waldo Trine. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York. $1, net.)

The Men Whom Sir Joshua Knew We are living in the midst of an English revival in the world of art. Only within the past few years have men realized that Gainsborough, Reynolds, Romney, and Constable have never been appreciated at their true worth personally, nor has their influence on succeeding ages and schools of art been properly taken into account. It is not surprising that one of the most attractive characters in the whole history of English art, Sir Joshua Reynolds, should have become the subject of several recent biogra-

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phies, all of which are well worth reading. Mr. Molloy's sumptuous volumes are also worth reading, and even by those who are already more or less saturated with Reynolds biographical material. For Mr. Molloy's aim is evidently not so much to describe the great President of the Royal Academy as he was in life and character as to tell us something new about him in his relations to the remarkable circle of friends and contemporaries who surrounded him. In literature there were Dr. Johnson, Goldsmith, Fielding, Richardson, Sterne, Smollett, Sheridan, and Fanny Burney; in art, Hogarth, Gainsborough, Romney, Angelica Kauffmann, Richard Wilson, and Benjamin West. He also tells about many others than those in the domains of literature and art, about great statesmen and clergymen and diplomats and women of fashion and rank. Among all these Sir Joshua was, as his latest biographer well says, a central luminary. It is a satisfaction that Mr. Molloy has taken plenty of print and paper to describe to us this characteristic and inspiring figure of an interesting and influential age. (Sir Joshua and His Circle. By Fitzgerald Molloy. In 2 vols. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $6.50, net.)

Motoring in France

It is any author's good fortune to be able to find and describe places off the beaten tourist track. This quality was somewhat evident in Mr. Shoemaker's "Quaint Corners of Ancient Empires," and is also evident in his just-published volume on France. The latter book will be of more practical value than the former, because there is hardly a better way of taking a vacation than by going to France and walking or cycling or motoring over its splendid roads from Cherbourg or Havre through Normandy and Brittany and Touraine anyway, and then through any other possible province. Mr. Shoemaker began his trip at Monte Carlo, and saw, first of all, Provence; then he crossed to Pau and Biarritz and northwards into Central France and by way of Auvergne to Touraine, Brittany, Normandy, and Picardy. Thence Mr. Shoemaker went by the Côte-d'Or to the Vosges, and across the frontier to the Rhine and Black Forest, and through Switzerland to Aix-les-Bains, where the journey ended. It is all very well to take a motor, as Mr. Shoemaker did, and cover as much territory, and this is the increasingly common method of "doing" France nowadays; but the book will appeal even to the slower travelers who like to roam about the quaint old cities, such as Tarascon, Carcassonne, Clermont-Ferrand, Riom, Bourges, and Besançon. Mr. Shoemaker writes with sympathy, although his pages might well have been more picturesque and luminous considering his subject matter. (Winged Wheels in France. By Michael Myers Shoemaker. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $2.50, net.)

Old English Fairy Tales

Under the entrancing title of "Fairy-Gold," and with every attraction of drawings and colored prints, Mr. Rhys has retold many legends and fairy tales of the semi-mythical days in England. Most of these are unknown to all but special students of folk-lore, and they are here rendered with true romantic flavor. The book is one to please older readers, but none the less for that will be acceptable to children. The paper and typography are a joy to the eye. (Fairy-Gold: A Book of Old English Fairy Tales. Chosen by Ernest Rhys. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $2.50.)

The Panama Canal

President Roosevelt's recent trip to Panama has accentuated the interest in anything which may be published on the subject of the great Isthmian Canal, and the appearance of Dr. Johnson's book is therefore particularly timely. Its title recalls the dreams of the first Spanish conquerors. The book's province is to recount a complete history of the four centuries of canal agitation and attempts at canal creation up to the present day. In this we should have had the assistance of a large map in detail; the clearly printed small maps in color inserted with the text are useful, but inadequate. The text is interesting and readable, as might be expected from an observer who has long been a close student of Panama Canal affairs, having reported them for the London Times and the New York Tribune. Dr. Johnson's picture seems accurate, but as he apparently believes in a canal at any cost, some of his judgments may not appeal to ultra-conservative readers. A valuable appendix includes important documents, such as the treaty of 1846 between the United States and New Granada, the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850 the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty of 1901, the Isthmian Canal Law of 1902 (commonly known as the Spooner Bill), the Panaman Declaration of Independence of 1903, the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty of 1904, and the proclamation of the Governor of the Canal Zone issued in the same year. Then follows the text of several administrative orders under Mr. Taft, Secretary of War, to whom the book is dedicated, and finally we have an interesting table giving facts as to existing ship canals. As a whole, Dr. Johnson's volume seems the most exhaustive contribution yet made to the popular understanding of a

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great subject. (Four Centuries of the Panama Canal. By Willis Fletcher Johnson, A.M., L.H.D. Henry Holt & Co., New York. $3, net. Postage, 27c.)

The Prisoner at the Bar The author's experience as Assistant District Attorney in New York City gives him unusual knowledge of dealings with the criminal courts. On the other hand, his talent as an agreeable and entertaining writer has been amply proved by his short stories, and notably by those in the "McAllister" series. Here he tells the average citizen in a lively yet absolutely accurate way what his rights are, what the rights of the police are, what happens when a misdemeanor is committed, what are the real duties and actual performances of judge, jury, witnesses, district attorney, and grand jury. Nothing could be more amusing, and at the same time suggestive of the "law's delay" and the nuisance of red tape, than his narrative of the interminable efforts of a smug little bank president to have his cook convicted for stealing a silver teapot, and in trying to recover possession of the teapot from the grip of the law after the cook aforesaid had forfeited her bail and fled to Ireland, thus bringing to naught the good man's six months' efforts to be a good citizen, in the course of which he sacrifices his comfort, many half-days of his precious time, and finally his proposed trip to Europe. The book as a whole belongs to the same class as Mr. Francis Wellman's "The Art of Cross-Examination." And when we consider the recent literary work of Mr. Wellman, Mr. Train, and Mr. Trevor Hill in dealing with law and crime in an illuminating way, we have cause to congratulate the reading public on being able to find in such books sound information and acute reasoning, together with entertainment of a high order. (The Prisoner at the Bar. By Arthur Train. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $2, net.)

Real Soldiers of Fortune In this entertaining book Mr. Davis proves that his fiction has been founded upon facts. He describes the character and adventures of six men who chose astonishing careers—careers so romantic that one almost doubts that they belong to our day. "The days of old when knights were bold" have not yet died away. The spirit and dash with which these biographical sketches are written will certainly attract young readers, however their elders may tremble with apprehension of the effect, having known boys who were fired to play circus after a visit to that charming performance. (Real Soldiers of Fortune. By Richard Harding Davis. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1.50, net.)

A Single-Volume Shakespeare This "Cambridge Edition" of Shakespeare's works in one volume is, in the main, uniform with the excellent one-volume editions of the great English and American poets which have the collective title "The Cambridge Poets." The Outlook has repeatedly commended the physical form of these editions, and takes pleasure in bestowing the same commendation on the volume before us. It was a matter that required close attention to have the paper for this book of over twelve hundred pages sufficiently thin to make an easily handled volume and yet sufficiently opaque to allow the text to be read clearly and easily. The publishers have succeeded entirely in this task, and it should be added that the ink is notably black, the type distinct, the shape of the book convenient, and the binding in excellent taste for a library edition. The text has been edited from the early quartos and first folio by Professor William Allan Neilson, of Harvard, after an independent examination of those texts and of the work of previous editors. There are textual notes, a glossary, and interesting and critical introductions to the plays. In every way the volume is suited for the use of the general reader and for a place on his library shelf. (Complete Works of William Shakespeare. Cambridge Edition. Edited by William Allan Neilson. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., New York. $3.)

Why Men Remain Bachelors These very personal little essays are amusingly frank, and clever in a journalistic way, but they have none of that delicacy of form—and spirit—which pleases the artistic sense. They deal with such subjects as "How Men Propose," "The Management of Husbands," "The Ethics of Flirtation," and they will interest the average young person for obvious reasons. (Why Men Remain Bachelors, and Other Luxuries. By Lilian Bell. John Lane & Co., New York. $1.25, net.)

The Warriors A work published under this title years ago now appears in a new edition under a title more descriptive of its character. It is a plea for the virile element in Christianity, which has too often been denied an equal emphasis with the feminine. Its tone is in accord with its conception of the church as "militant." Energy is the salient feature of its literary style. Trumpet notes abound. The outlook is comprehensive, optimistic, and martial.

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The conquest to be won is the molding of the modern environment to spiritual uses. This is the point in view throughout. Practical suggestions for all social groups show insight, sympathy, and good sense. Altogether it is a thoroughly wholesome and tonic book. (The Warrior Spirit in the Republic of God. By Anna Robertson Brown Lindsay, Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.50, net.)

The Young Rangers This is a good narrative for boys, not particularly well written from a literary standpoint, but full of interesting action. It deals with events leading up to the fall of Quebec, and is the last volume in the "Colonial Series." (The Young Rangers: A Story of the Conquest of Canada. By Everett T. Tomlinson. W. A. Wilde Company, Boston. $1.50.)

Letters to The Outlook

NEGRO EXHIBITS IN ALABAMA

Dr. Booker T. Washington's admirable letter in The Outlook about the exhibit of the colored people at the great fair in Montgomery was a capital reply to a thousand questions that might be asked. He failed to state one important fact, however—that Tuskegee carried off the first prize for work by colored people. Of course that might go without saying, but the world should know it. It should also know that the good little school at Kowaliga carried off the second prize. ISABEL C. BARROWS.

PROTESTANTS IN FRANCE

In The Outlook of December 8, 1906, an editorial on "Protestants in France" states that "while the Catholics are divided even after the Encyclical of the Pope, the Protestants, with great unanimity, have accepted the law and organized everywhere religious associations, and so, under the just provisions of the act, have become the custodians of the property of the ancient consistories or councils. . . . It may be added, also, that the Israelitish synagogues have also accepted the law of separation, and organized under its provisions."

This editorial seems to imply that Protestants and Jews in France have accepted the law as just and without protest.

In an article published last year in the National Review, by Viscount Lhandaff, on "Mons. Combes and Republican Policy," the statement is made that "the Central Council of the Reformed Churches of France has addressed a memorandum against the bill to the Government. . . . The chief Rabbi, M. Lehmann, has addressed a letter to the Siècle in which he protests against the confiscation of churches mostly built by contributions from the congregation."

The Protestants and Jews have submitted to the law as inevitable, but these protests seem to indicate that the Catholics are not the only ones who find it unjust.

Cambridge, Massachusetts. A. E. A.

[In our editorial note it was pointed out that Protestants as well as Catholics have to face certain elements of hardship in the new law. As first drafted it was much more objectionable, and there are still clauses which are regarded as onerous. But while individual Protestants in France may object to disestablishment, like many Anglican Protestants, the best proof of the Protestant attitude is seen in the official action of their churches of all branches in accepting the law, while the Roman Catholic Church, through the Pope, has officially pronounced against the law. Leading Protestants like Pressensé regretted that the separation of Church and State made during the Revolution was ever replaced by the Concordat. Professor Jean Réville says: "Among the Protestants the law is generally well received. A large majority are favorable to the principle; they only divide as to the timeliness of its application. They are much more occupied with the question of their interior organization than with attacking the law."—THE EDITORS.]

THE JAPANESE IN AMERICA

It would be better for all if the Eastern press would discuss the Japanese question on some other basis than the assumption that all classes of Japanese should be made welcome to our shores and given all privileges that are possessed by native-born citizens, and that all who hold contrary views are inspired either by unreasoning and vicious race prejudice or a desire to profit by pandering to an ugly mob. The last assumption is grossly untrue. The first is worthy of frank and fair discussion, which it gets in very few Eastern journals which come under my observation, and I see good many. It may, however, be safely

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assumed that the exclusion of Japanese coolies will become a burning question in all American communities in which they are found in any considerable numbers. The two races cannot live peacefully side by side, either in this country or Japan. Hawaii is to-day not an American but a Japanese colony, dominated by the Japanese civilization. There are once thriving towns in California which are rapidly becoming so. There is no doubt that Californians will fight rather than that California should become what Hawaii now is, or what at least one town in California now is. It is a grave question. It deserves consideration of a very different character from that which it receives either from the Eastern press or from the President of the United States. If it does not receive it soon, it will assume a form which will compel attention. It is true that the workingmen are just now the most active in the discussion, because it is their standard of life that is first affected. It is true that some of our labor leaders are arrant demagogues. It is not, however, necessarily true that whatever a workingman favors is wrong, or that demagogues can never by any chance agitate for a just cause. The workingmen and the thoughtful men of California are a unit in favoring the exclusion of all Asiatic coolies. Those opposed to it are employers of labor on a considerable scale, and worthy but silly sentimentalists who imagine that we can "Christianize" the Japanese among us, while the fact is that they will heathenize us.

I am not writing this to argue the question of Japanese exclusion, but only, if I can, to impress you with its gravity, and that the question of commercial profit or loss cannot be considered by any one who knows the situation and who is not ready to sell his civilization for gold. When we in California propose to exclude Japanese coolies, most of you at the East seem to think us brutal. When you at the East say that the agitation must stop lest our trade with Japan suffer, frankly, we think you sordid. We are indignant that a question of profit or loss should come into a discussion affecting morality, decency, and the American standard of life. But as a matter of fact no profit in Japanese trade can compensate the pecuniary loss resulting from the Japanizing of the Pacific Coast.

The concentrating of the Asiatics in this city in separate schools is assumed at the East to be merely an exhibition of "race hatred." It has not come to that yet. We do not, however, desire, nor will we permit, the association of our children in school life with the children of Japanese families. In the youngest grades there is no harm. As they grow older together there is harm. That which brought the thing to a head, however, was the intrusion of Japanese young men into the low primary grades in order to learn the rudiments of English there. Very embarrassing situations were often created. And we object to having the time of the teachers taken to teach the English language to Japanese young men.

I wish to argue only one point, and that is the legal point. The Eastern press seems universally to assume that by the present or some other treaty which the United States could make, California could be forced to admit Japanese to its public schools. There seems no foundation for that assumption. The Constitution of the United States says that "all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land." But a treaty made which should in any way interfere with a State's exclusive control of its schools would not be under the authority of the United States, but in excess of it. Nobody will claim that Congress, by statute, could interfere with our schools, and yet a statute would hold against a treaty of an earlier date. Will any one claim that the President and Senate can do what Congress and the President can not do? Can the President and Senate acquire jurisdiction over a subject withheld from them by the Constitution by merely agreeing with a foreign country that they will take it? Doubtless this has never been decided by the Supreme Court, but it is not a question of legal finesse, but of statesmanship and good faith.

EDWARD F. ADAMS.

San Francisco.

[We have yet to hear of any intelligent person who doubts the power of San Francisco to make such regulations for its schools as would prevent the placing of young men (Japanese or American) in the same classes, rooms, or school buildings with children. Whether its powers extend to the point of requiring separate races to use separate school buildings, or whether this would put on a friendly nation (China or Japan) a slight forbidden by treaty obligations, the courts will decide. As to the dangers of a Japanese invasion, it seems to us that some Californians are unduly alarmed; distance and the present opportunities for Japanese immigration to Korea and Manchuria render such an invasion improbable. Forthermore, we need not exclude desirable Japanese immigrants, and undesirable classes could and should be kept out by proper general immigration-restriction laws.—THE EDITORS.]

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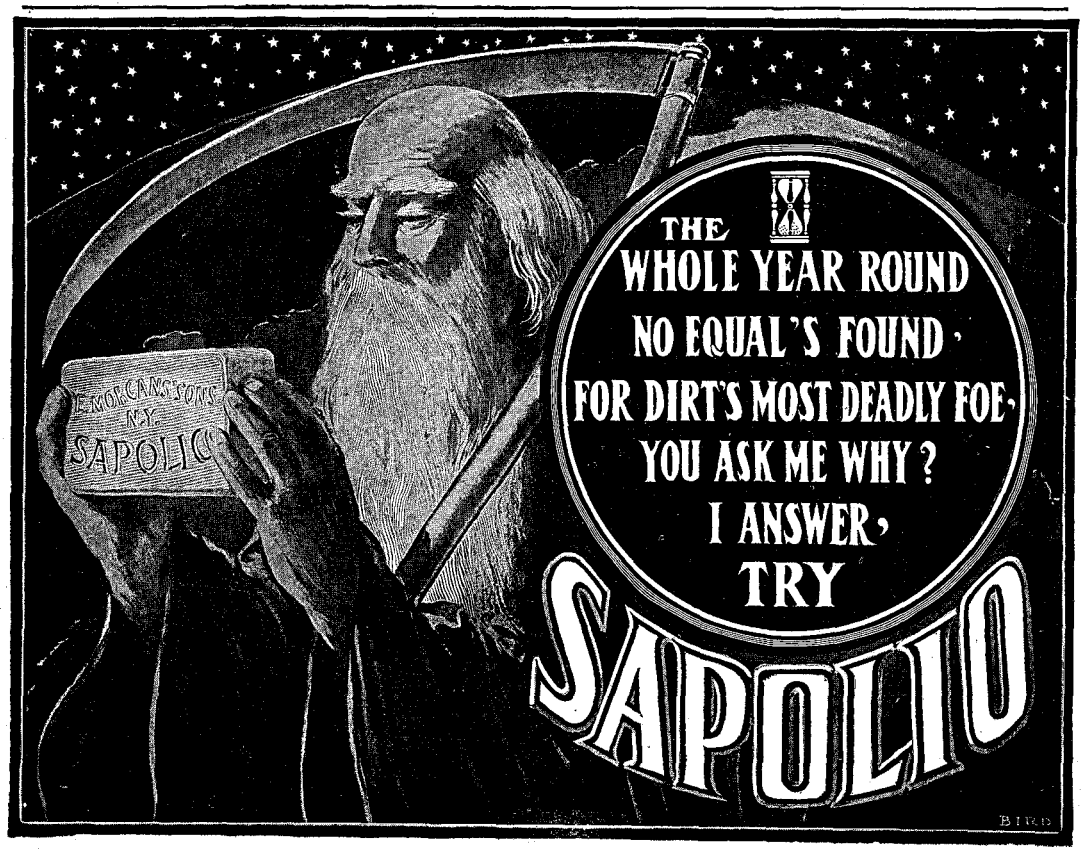

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The last month of the year is passing. About $4,200 are needed this month if receipts are to equal 1905. Our needs are greater, for we are caring for a larger number. Increase your own joy in this Christmas season by adding to the joy of these worthy but infirm veterans of the Gospel ministry. Send your check this month, and if possible before Christmas. Address remittances or for information of this beautiful and tender Christian service, the Secretary, Rev. Wm. A. Rice 287 Fourth Avenue, New York.

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Sold by all Dealers in Paint. Send for FREE illustrated book, edition "T." S. C. JOHNSON & SON, Racine, Wis.

Charcoal

is a sweetener and purifier of the stomach. It arrests fermentation, and causes complete digestion. Eat and drink anything you like in moderation, and use charcoal daily. The finest preparation made is

MURRAY'S CHARCOAL TABLETS

FOR 10c. in stamps. a full size 25c. box mailed for trial. Once only.

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Isn't it incredible that we could serve hundreds of investors for thirty-one years without loss or complaint, and fail to satisfy you?

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"Cures While You Sleep"

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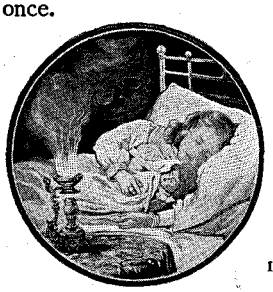
Confidence can be placed in a remedy which for a quarter of a century has earned unqualified praise. Restful nights are assured at once.



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Ladies' Shirt-Waists and Underwear

To advertise the OPENING of OUR NEW BUILDING we announce a sale of Advance Spring styles in Shirt-Waists and Muslin Underwear at prices heretofore unknown.

Waist No. 513. Waist of superior quality white batiste, effectively trimmed with lace and embroidery and tucked as pictured. Sleeves three-quarter length, with lace cuffs to match collar. Closes in back.

Great Bargain

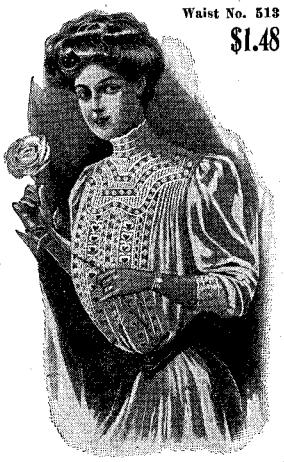
Sizes 32 to 44 bust

Price = = $1.48

Postage = 10 cents

Waist No. 513

$1.48



Waist No. 506

98c.

Waist No. 506. This handsome Waist is made of good quality white lawn. The front shows elaborate embroidery in open work and blind effect. Buttons in back. Long sleeves with tucked cuffs and lace edging. Collar made of embroidery and trimmed with lace.

Wonderful Value

Sizes 32 to 44 bust

Price = 98 cents

Postage 10 cents

If any of our Shirt-Waists or Undergarments are not just as dainty, just as exquisite, or made exactly as illustrated and described, return them at once and WE WILL REFUND YOUR MONEY.

Remit by P. O. Money Order, Express Money Order, Bank Draft, or Registered Letter.

Be sure to send an amount sufficient to include the postage and the price of the garments ordered. State size desired.

Our new eleven-story building enables us to carry an enormous stock, which means the prompt filling of all orders.

Send us a trial order. You have much to gain and nothing to lose. **Remember, we refund your money if you are not entirely satisfied.**

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Corset Covers, = = 24 cents to $1.25
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Write to-day for our new **White Goods Catalogue, sent free** on request. It illustrates over 50 advance Spring styles of Shirt-waists and Muslin Undergarments at most attractive prices.

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Mail Orders Only. No Agents or Branches. Est. 18 Years

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To Our Outlook Friends

Readers of THE OUTLOOK are kept thoroughly informed on all National questions. They have been carefully posted regarding the important subject of life-insurance. At the time of the New York legislative investigation, THE OUTLOOK commented on the **new idea** in life-insurance—the idea of conducting the business directly **by mail,** from the Home Office to the homes of the people, without the intervention of life-insurance agents. This idea, which marks a new era in a great business, is now fully developed and exemplified in the POSTAL LIFE-INSURANCE COMPANY, which is the culmination and fruition of all previous efforts in this direction.

OUTLOOK readers were the first to appreciate the advantages of **direct** insurance, and in greater number than from any other periodical they wisely cut out the insurance agent and saved his commissions by arranging their policies in the LIFE-INSURANCE CLUB OF NEW YORK, which, after due legal formalities, has now become the

Chartered by the State of New York

POSTAL LIFE-INSURANCE COMPANY

Transacts Business By Mail No Agents

Those who are already policyholders will warmly commend this sensible change of title, which is in every way more appropriate and effective; they will, as in the past, staunchly support the Institution as it strides forward, and it is reasonable to believe that thousands of other readers of THE OUTLOOK will show their faith in the POSTAL LIFE, which stands for progressiveness, straightforwardness, simplicity, convenience, and, above all, **economy** in life-insurance.

The success of the POSTAL LIFE is assured. Being a legal-reserve company, and operating under the strict laws of the State of New York, it is as sound and secure as any other company, new or old, mutual or stock; it is legally and scientifically **safe.**

Starting the New Year with a Round Million

It starts the New Year with more than a million dollars of insurance on its books; very few companies, even those now the largest, were able to secure so many policyholders in so short a time. Best of all, applications are coming in with every mail and policies are going out daily. The Company will be glad to hear from **you,** and, if you are in good health, will place you in the way to secure a POSTAL policy which will afford **absolutely sound, old-line** (i. e., legal-reserve) **insurance protection at lowest cost.** Premiums may be deposited monthly; but if paid quarterly, semi-annually, or annually there is a discount.

That's the POSTAL proposition in brief: the Company tells you the whole story in its official literature; send for our book "THE POSTAL IDEA;" it's yours for the asking. When you write for it, we will also, if you wish, give you full **personal** information and advice about the best insurance for yourself or for anyone—man, woman, or child—in whom you are interested. See how easy it is.

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